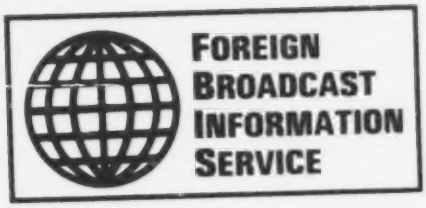

Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

1 March 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

CSSR Envoy at Vienna Talks on Jakes Proposal *[CTK]* 1

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Greek Minister Addresses Belgrade Meeting *[POLITIKA 25 Feb]* 2

ALBANIA

Reiz Malile Returns From Balkan Conference 3
Alia Greets Western Sahara's Abdelaziz 3
Health Minister Departs for Vietnam 27 Feb 3
Cuba To Supply Sugar, Other Goods to Albania *[Havana Radio Progreso]* 3
Gjirokaster Body Formed for Greek Border Trade 3
Youth Delegation Returns From Algeria, Sahara 3
Carcani Speaks at Lushnje AWP Aktiv *[BASHKIMI 24 Feb]* 4
Economic Progress Report For 21-27 Feb 88 4
Tenth Women's Union Congress Set for 6 Jun 4
Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Feb 4

BULGARIA

Importance of Belgrade Conference Evaluated *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 27 Feb]* 5
Editorial Examines Relations With Greece *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 Feb]* 5
Zhivkov Receives DPRK's Kim Chong-suk 6
Netherlands Foreign Minister To Visit in March 6
Todorov, M.P.'s Meet Soares in Lisbon 6
Return to Sofia 7
Leaders Greet Czechs on Victorious February *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Feb]* 7
State Council Announces Election Results 7
Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Safety Discussed 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Questions on Soviet Missiles Answered *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Feb]* 9
Chnoupek: Missile Withdrawal Act of Good Will *[PRAVDA 26 Feb]* 9
Planned Closure of PLO's UN Office Condemned 10
Jakes Addresses 1948 Anniversary Meeting 10
CPCZ Presidium Session Report 19
Leaders Public Appearances 16-22 Feb *[RUDE PRAVO 17-23 Feb]* 20

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Finland's CP Leader Aalto Pays Official Visit 22
Holds Talks With Honecker 22
Honecker Hosts Dinner, Gives Toast 22
Aalto Gives Toast 24
Kessler Speaks at Army Anniversary Reception 24

HUNGARY

Marjai on USSR Goods Exchange Protocol 25
New Mixed Enterprises with USSR Viewed *[NEPSZABADSAG 19 Feb]* 25

Trade, Payments Protocol Signed in Beijing 25
National Assembly, NATO Delegation Talks Open 26
Communique on Nemeth's Visit to FRG 26
Changes in W. Berlin Travel Permits Previewed 26
Varkonyi, Delegation Meet Indian President 26
Agreement With SFRY on Drava River Use 27
Marjai Receives Afghan Deputy Premier 27
Trade Union Council Stance on Opposition 27
Further on Opposition 28
SZOT's Nagy on Employment, Interest Safeguards *[MAGYAR NEMZET 24 Feb]* 28
MSZMP's Lukacs on Ideological Work *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Feb]* 29
Welfare, Health Minister on Social Debate 32
Briefs 33
Joint Economic Cooperation 33
Cooperation With USSR 33

POLAND

Solidarity Pledges To Defy Police Repression *[AFP]* 34
PAP Says AFP 'Propagating' Church Incidents 34
Railway Repair Workers Stop Work Over Pay 34
Church Activities in Scouting Scored *[TRYBUNA LUDU 27-28 Feb]* 35
Weekly on PEN Club's Suspended Existence *[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 21 Feb]* 36
'Open Letter' Appeals for Free Association *[PREZEGLAD KATOLICKI 21 Feb]* 36
Council of Ministers Views Crime for 1987 *[TRYBUNA LUDU 23 Feb]* 37
Amendments to People's Councils Law Viewed 38
Culture Minister Views Openness in Arts *[POLITYKA 20 Feb]* 38
Miodowicz Addresses Government-TU Session *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Feb]* 39
Messner Meets With Zamosc Delegation 40
Miodowicz Discusses Industrial Health Care *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 22 Feb]* 40
Sejm Deputies Discuss Foreign Debt 41
ZSL Views Rural Agricultural Production 41
Orzechowski Arrives in Thailand, Interviewed 41
Leaders Greet Czechs on Victorious February *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 25 Feb]* 41
Polish, Soviet Historians Meet 42
Historians To Examine World War II 42
CPSU Agricultural Delegation Arrives 29 Feb 42

ROMANIA

Giosan Pays Visit to Tunisia, Algeria 43
Meets Tunisian Parliamentarians 43
Received by Tunisian President 43
Meets Algerian Officials 43
Constantinescu Attends Bulgarian Reception 43
Ceausescu Greets Israel's President Herzog *[SCINTEIA 25 Feb]* 43
Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Feb 43

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG Announces Gorbachev Visit 45
Gorbachev To Sign Declaration *[AFP]* 45
Kosovo Press Interviews Albania's Malile *[RILINDJA 27 Feb]* 45
Albanian Press at Conference Interviewed *[RILINDJA 27 Feb]* 46
U.S. Decision To Close PLO Mission Viewed 46
SFRY Assumes UN Security Council Presidency 47
Racan Says Communism Parting With 'Illusions' *[MOSCOW NEWS No 7]* 47
Iranian Delegation Ends 3-Day Visit 49
Iraqi Trade Minister Arrives in Belgrade *[Baghdad INA]* 49

LCY Central Committee To Hold Meeting 49
Zagreb Previews Session 49
Session Opens 29 Feb 50
Second Day of Discussion Begins 50
Kosovo Polje on Serb, Montenegrin Emigration 50
Kosovo Press Comments on Vlasi Criticism *[RILINDJA 27 Feb]* 51
Montenegro LC Presidium Discusses Nationalism 52
Serbia Liberalizes Law on Private Enterprise 52
Belgrade Court Bans KATEDRA Supplement 53
Slovene Writers Send Letter to Presidency 53
Belgrade SAWP Denounces Attacks on Army 53
SAWPY Official Assesses Role of Communists *[BORBA 12 Feb]* 54
Serbian SAWP Meeting Views Role of Defense 55
Candidates Announced for Slovene Posts *[BORBA 17 Feb]* 56

CSSR Envoy at Vienna Talks on Jakes Proposal

LD291438 Prague CTK in English
1350 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Vienna Feb 29 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak proposal for creating zones of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, submitted by General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes, was put forward here Monday before the two alliances' representatives by head of the Czechoslovak delegation Frantisek Dolezel.

Warsaw Treaty and NATO representatives from 23 countries are meeting here to prepare future negotiations on disarmament in Europe within the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Frantisek Dolezel stressed that Milos Jakes' proposal is in close connection with the issues which are to be on the agenda of the follow-up talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armament in Europe.

Their aim will be to reduce the danger of military confrontation, to avert the threat of an unexpected attack, and strengthen confidence and security in Europe, the Czechoslovak official said, expressing hope that the countries involved will adopt a constructive attitude towards this initiative.

Greek Minister Addresses Belgrade Meeting

AU291800 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on the speech Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias delivered on the first day of the Belgrade foreign ministers' conference on 24 February]

[Text] "In the Balkans, my country is guided by a long and continuous tradition that is proof of its devotion to Balkan cooperation," this was among other things stated by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias. "I would like to recall a former Greek President Papanastasi who convoked the first Balkan conference, the Athens Balkan Conference of 1930, 58 years ago, between the two wars. This is why we are so happy that the ministers of all the Balkan countries are meeting for the first time in history in this convocation. Your initiative to invite and gather us here," said Papoulias addressing Chairman Loncar, "represents, I would say, your views on Balkan problems. There is no alternative solution to Balkan cooperation."

Concrete Proposals [subhead]

"I would like to express some of our views on how we can transform this joint political will into specific mechanisms that would ensure efficiency and continuation in cooperation. But naturally, we must take into consideration the fact that establishing strong and inflexible bureaucratic and fixed plans and organizations, plans that would be above national plans, cannot be anything but a counterproductive utopia. What we need is to unite the political will, flexibility, and efficiency of practical experience and scientific research. I would like to propose a general system in which, by expressing their political will, the foreign ministers would represent a driving force and control the system, in which specially authorized high-ranking foreign office officials would provide mechanisms for cooperation and everything that follows the start of such an initiative. This would be a subtle and efficient mechanism. We would set up mixed committees of experts as we have done in the past. A newly formed institute for investigating possibilities of economic cooperation in the Balkans would be in charge of scientific research and developing long-term programs. Our experience in the EC has helped me to formulate these ideas."

In the second part of his noted speech, Minister Papoulias expressed several specific proposals regarding the organization of Balkan cooperation. "This is what I propose," Papoulias said:

1. All Balkan countries' ministries for foreign affairs should appoint a high-ranking diplomat, preferably an ambassador, as a coordinator of Balkan cooperation.

2. The coordinators of all the Balkan countries should meet every 4 months and work on problems hindering the promotion of Balkan cooperation. These meetings would be held in the capital cities in alphabetical order.

3. Coordinators' meetings would work on specific projects in Balkan cooperation.

4. Expert committees representing the ministries for economic and technology matters would work on cooperation in appropriate fields.

5. Foreign ministers would meet at least once every 2 years in the capital cities in alphabetical order.

6. I propose, Papoulias said, the establishment of an institute for the promotion of economic cooperation in the Balkans. The institute would be in Athens.

Against Non-Balkan Influences [subhead]

In the second part of his speech, Minister Papoulias said that "we should develop a will that would minimize non-Balkan influence in the region regardless of where it comes from." However, it is necessary to muster a will for opening the Balkans to all the processes of progress, peace, and understanding. I am talking about a political will, Papoulias continued, that would not cause damage to our obligations and orientation, to political peculiarities of all of us. Having expressed reservations about initiatives to create a chemical weapons free zone in the Balkans (since chemical weapons do not exist in the Balkans there is no need to raise this issue), Papoulias said that this also refers to a nuclear free zone that would be formally declared in the Balkans. The Greek foreign minister favored Balkan cooperation in which differences in the socioeconomic systems of the Balkan countries would not represent an obstacle to profit-oriented economic cooperation. Speaking about specific possibilities in this sphere, Papoulias said that statistical data on trade in the Balkans can be exchanged quickly in order to maintain trade balances. A compulsory arbitrage in trade disputes could also be arranged. He also proposed the creation of an entity such as the Balkan Chamber of Economy that existed before World War II. As regards transportation, Papoulias favored the publication of a road atlas of the Balkans, while in agriculture he said possibilities exist for a more rational use of waterways that extend over mutual borders. He also mentioned other interesting ideas for cooperation in the fields of ecology, technology, power engineering, as well as several concrete ideas for cooperation among the Balkan countries' tourist organizations.

"Our current Belgrade meeting must become the cornerstone of Balkan cooperation within the efficient framework of certain institutions and a working character. The Balkan peoples and countries see many important elements in this meeting," Karolos Papoulias said at the end of his speech.

Reiz Malile Returns From Balkan Conference

LD280923 Tirana ATA in English
0737 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Tirana, 28 (ATA)—Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania returned home after attending the proceedings of the meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan states held in Belgrade from February 24-26.

He was seen off in Belgrade by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Ilija Gjukic, federal under secretary of foreign affairs and other top officials of this secretariat.

On his way home, Comrade Reis Malile was received in Skopje by Milco Balevski, chairman of the Republican Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries of the SR of Macedonia who accompanied him to the border. Likewise, he was accompanied to the border by Novak Pribicevic, ambassador of the SFR of Yugoslavia in Tirana and Kujtim Hysenaj, ambassador of the PSR of Albania in Yugoslavia.

Present to welcome the minister of foriegn affairs were Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, Vasil Prifti, chairman of the Executive Committee of Pogradec District People's Council, etc.

Alia Greets Western Sahara's Abdelaziz

AU261718 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1430 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, has sent the following message to Mohamed Abdelaziz, president of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic:

The anniversary of the proclamation of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic gives me the opportunity, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to covey to you, and through you to the Saharan people, greetings and best wishes for their well-being and prosperity.

Expressing our support for the consolidation of the independence of the people of Western Sahara, I express the wish that the relations between our two countries may develop constantly to the benefit of our two friendly peoples.

Health Minister Departs for Vietnam 27 Feb

AU271521 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1430 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] At the invitation of Prof Dr Dang Hoi Xuan, minister of public health of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has left for a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Cuba To Supply Sugar, Other Goods to Albania

FL251500 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] Ricardo Cabrisas and Shane Korbeci, Cuban and Albanian ministers of foreign trade, respectively, have signed in Albania a commercial and payments protocol for 1988. Cuba will supply sugar and other industrial products to Albania and, in exchange, it will receive food products and clothing.

Gjirokaster Body Formed for Greek Border Trade

AU011042 Tirana ATA in English0730 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Tirana, March 1 (ATA)—In the context of the development of the trade relations between Albania and Greece, the Chamber of Commerce was opened recently in the Gjirokaster City. The local newspaper PARAROJA has an interview granted by the chairman of this chamber, Naxhi Mamani, stressing among others that its opening aims mainly at developing trade relations between the border areas. This chamber will conduct its trade activity not only for the goods of the Gjirokaster District, but of that of Sarande as well.

The development of trade relations between the two border areas is of mutual interest for the two parties, the interview stresses. The interest in the goods produced by the districts of Gjirokaster and Sarande has been mounting. The foreign trade enterprise Gjirokaster Impeks, whose task is to maintain links with the firms of the Greek border zone for buying and selling goods and reach contracts of mutual interest, conducts its activity under the Chamber of Commerce too.

Youth Delegation Returns From Algeria, Sahara

AU261234 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 25 Feb 88

[Text] The delegation of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, led by its First Secretary, Mehmet Elezi, which paid a friendly visit to the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, as well as to the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic, returned home today.

The delegation was welcomed by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, Luan Bregasi, and other comrades.

Carcani Speaks at Lushnje AWP Aktiv

AU010832 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 24 Feb 88 p 1-2

[ATA report on Lushnje District AWP Aktiv on 23 February, attended by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. "Intensifying Scientific Work and Perfecting Management Lead to Increased Yields and Production in Agriculture and Stock-Raising"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Comrade Adil Carcani also spoke at the aktiv. After discussing the goals and projects set by the aktiv, which stem from the very important tasks set

by the third and fourth AWP Central Committee plenums and from Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions on developing agriculture, he dwelt upon the advanced experience of Lushnje District in fulfilling agricultural tasks. In the name of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, he congratulated the communists, cadres, and all the working people of the district on their achievements and the brave initiative they have taken to entirely ensure the supply of cooperativists and workers of agricultural enterprises with milk and milk products from their small herds, and with vegetables and beans from their own fields, by the end of June, and with meat from their small herds by the end of the year. Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out that the results achieved in Lushnje District prove Comrade Enver Hoxha's valued teaching that people's labor and mobilization exert the most decisive influence upon production, not weather conditions. He stressed that other districts must learn lessons from the experience of this district in studying and applying the advanced thinking of specialists, in creating a healthy state of opinion among people about opportunities to boost yields, in using the material and technical base effectively, in encouraging initiative and a creative spirit, in organizing and supervising labor, and so forth. Let us be eager, he said, to learn from each other's advanced experience, since it is this which pushes production and labor forward in every field. We must all show an appreciative and active attitude toward advanced experience, and bodies of the state and the economy, scientific institutions, and agricultural stations in the districts should play a more active role in this, especially in following up and applying this experience, so as not to leave it to the mercy of spontaneous forces. He stressed the need for schools to take in hand the task of spreading advanced experience, and placing this matter on a better organizational basis at enterprise level, so that the results of the most advanced brigades will be passed on to others.

After talking about some aspects of refining the organization and management of agriculture and stock-raising, and about relations in production, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed the need to use the material and technical base in agriculture more effectively, aiming at greater intensification, especially in the gathering and processing of the largest amounts of organic fertilizer as possible. He drew attention to the better organization of this important mass action, which exerts a direct influence upon boosting yields in cereal, industrial, and forage crops.

Comrade Adil Carcani then dwelt upon some aspects of work to improve the fodder supply, and in particular upon intensifying corn production over an area of 30,000 hectares. He said that there is every opportunity of obtaining a yield of 83 quintals of corn per hectare. This is proved by the experience of many agricultural cooperatives in several districts of the country. At the same time he pointed out the need for better work to expand the area sown with soya and increasing soya and lucerne yields, using new agricultural technology with courage and initiative. Comrade Adil Carcani said that increasing the people's prosperity is a lofty aim of the party. Work with small herds must be taken better in hand in order to increase production in stovk-raising, and the experience of advanced economies in Lushnje District must be followed in increasing the number of head and boosting productivity, so that the target of supplying milk for the peasantry entirely from small herds, set by the Ninth AWP Congress, can be achieved. He also pointed out the need for socialist emulation and more lively and specific propaganda to publicize advanced experience, in order to achieve all the objectives of the 3rd year of the 5-year period.

Economic Progress Report For 21-27 Feb 88

AU271948 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 21-27 February carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Durres District: Forty-five collectives have fulfilled or overfulfilled the plan up to 20 February (1900 GMT 24 February);

Kolonje District: The general industrial production plan for the period up to 20 February has been exceeded by 2 percent (1900 GMT 22 February);

Pogradec District: The overall industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 1.2 million leks (1900 GMT 23 February)

Sarande District: The general industrial plan for the period up tp 25 February has been overfulfilled by 700,000 leks and the productivity increase target has been exceeded by 2 percent (1900 GMT 27 February);

Vlore District: Ten collectives have reported fulfillment or overfulfillment of the 2-month plan (1900 GMT 26 February).

Tenth Women's Union Congress Set for 6 Jun

AU281419 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Tirana, February 28 (ATA)—The plenum of the General Council of WUA [Albanian Women's Union] convened on February 27 before noon in one of the halls of the Museum of National History, in Tirana.

Besides the members of the plenum, it was also attended by chairwomen of Women's Union organizations in districts and regions and leading cadres of departments and central mass organizations.

Present was also Comrade Leka Shkurti.

The plenum of the General Council of WUA decided that the 10th Congress of the WUA convene in Tirana, on June 6, 1988. [passage omitted]

Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Feb

AU271950 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 21-27 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended on 23 February a Lushnje District AWP aktiv on the role of basic organizations in the agricultural sector. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 23 February)

Importance of Belgrade Conference Evaluated

AU291851 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Feb 88 pp 1,5

[Editorial article: "Facing a New Stage"]

[Text] Justly defined as historical, this first postwar meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of all Balkan states, has already entered history. It entered history as an impressive manifestation of the new political thinking in the Balkans, and the new philosophy of peace and security for all Balkan peoples as a starting point of collective actions in the name of good-neighborliness and cooperation.

The most characteristic and promising factor, which unanimously received international recognition, was the fact that not a single Balkan country was excluded from the first Balkan dialogue on such a level, that all six Balkan countries responded to the invitation of the Yugoslav hosts to sit for the first time at the same table, and discuss issues, which deeply move the people, and which await solutions, and thus reveal prospects of new actions in the name of prosperity and flourishing of all Balkan countries.

It was an encouraging and inspiring fact, that under the conditions of refreshing changes in international life, whose climax was the signing of the first USSR-U.S. treaty in postwar history, to eliminate two of the most horrible classes of nuclear weapons, the authorized representatives of the six Balkan states were able to respond to the spirit of our time and create a reliable basis for the success of the conference. This basis was produced by the uniform attempts of the participating states to adhere to the most realistic approach to a successful work—to take into consideration in their discussions the factors which are uniting us, and which are expressing common and uniform interests.

Naturally, nobody ignored the existing sociopolitical activity in our peninsula and nobody remained blind to the differences and contradictions, the specific national interests, and the existing differences of opinion and conflicts. It was declared at the conference that they have either been inherited from the tragic Balkan history, or are an inevitable consequence of the postwar realities in the Balkans. It can be said to the credit of the authorized representatives of the Balkan states, that with total justification they left aside their national positions and considerations, as well as the specific interests and claims of this or that country, which can be subject to bilateral talks (and such talks did take place during the conference), and thus concentrated their attention on the common and long-range prospects, goals, and intentions of all Balkan peoples. These prospects, goals, and intentions are well-known, and there is and can be no discussion in this respect. We all—Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Greece, and Turkey—want to live in peace and understanding with each other. We want to maintain contacts, to multilaterally enrich our spiritual values, exchange material assets, and construct in peace the prosperity of the present-day and future generations.

As the first conference of such a universal character, the Belgrade forum had to discuss the basic issues of all-Balkan political, military, economic, and cultural relations. Nobody sought immediate solutions of the existing problems. However, the unique way in which the positions of the participants were drawn at the Sava Center, is also encouraging. It showed that political relations and realities are justifiably emphasized. We must be satisfied with the support which was rendered to the idea to free our peninsula from nuclear and chemical weapons. There is not and cannot be any doubt that the elimination of the most destructive weapons on Balkan territory is the first and most important step toward strengthening the security of the six states.

The 3 all-Balkan days in Belgrade summarized the numerous proposals for a future and unprecedented upsurge of the multilateral economic and intellectual exchange, and of the broad and mutually enriching contacts among our peoples. The forthcoming meetings, envisaged by the joint communique, will materialize these useful initiatives. Of course, the main thing is to turn these periodical contacts into a permanent form of continuing the all-Balkan dialogue, so that they could prepare the implementation of an even greater goal—the all-Balkan summit, which was proposed in 1981 by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the state council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian people fully share the conviction that the Belgrade forum will give a new impetus to asserting the spirit of good-neighborliness, and that it will contribute to the all-Balkan dialogue aimed at constructing with common efforts the "Balkan floor" in the all-European house.

Editorial Examines Relations With Greece

AU291716 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 88 pp 1, 5

[Editorial article: "Bulgaria-Greece—Contribution to Cooperation and Peace"]

[Text] The atmosphere of understanding and political goodwill, so characteristic of the Bulgarian-Greek dialogue at the highest level, also accompanied the seventh meeting between Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou, which ended on Tuesday [23 February]. Their talks, which took place in a businesslike and constructive spirit, elevated the importance of Bulgarian-Greek dialogue above the framework of bilateral relations. This was reflected first of all in the new initiative of the Bulgarian and Greek leaders, namely, their appeal to adopt measures to remove the tactical nuclear weapons from Balkan territory, wherever there are such weapons, and adopt the obligation not to deploy new nuclear

weapons. There are at least two reasons, which allow us to describe this proposal as exceptionally important: first, it was directed to all Balkan states on the eve of the first meeting of the region's foreign ministers; and second, the Bulgarian-Greek proposal came at a time when the continent's peoples and governments are facing the important issue of Europe's concrete cooperation in practically implementing the USSR-U.S. INF treaty. In this context the Bulgarian-Greece initiative goes beyond the borders of the Balkans and becomes a useful stimulus for the general improvement of the political climate in Europe and the world.

Naturally, the clearly expressed foreign policy character of the new Bulgarian-Greek proposal does not represent the only international aspect of the talks, which were conducted. During those 2 days in Sofia the two countries again demonstrated their determination to actively work for peace and understanding in the Balkans, and clearly expressed their willingness to turn the Belgrade meeting into the starting point of creating a new climate in our region.

We do not only mean good wishes. The practice of Bulgarian-Greek relations shows that there are no issues which cannot be solved along the road of understanding and good-neighborliness. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed, this is what prompts the willingness of the two states to bring forth in the region the interests of the Balkan states and create the general recognition that the Balkans must be an area of understanding and stability.

It is well known that Bulgaria and Greece have coinciding opinions on the main issues. The talks, which ended in Sofia, again confirmed that this coincidence is not an ad hoc matter, and that the two countries have a constructive position on matters of peace, security, and mankind's future, coordinated both with their national interests and the requirements of our time.

Bilateral relations also had their important place in the talks. A high evaluation was given to their dynamic development in all areas. The two leaders pointed out that the agreements of their last summit are being observed, and stressed again the role of the 1986 Declaration on Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Greece. Simultaneously, they discussed the unutilized possibilities, especially in the area of economic cooperation, and outlined the areas in which this cooperation must expand, namely, the areas of transportation, tourism, and trade.

One of the basic characteristics of Bulgarian-Greek relations is their being an example of relations between states with different social systems. The meeting between Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou categorically confirmed the correctness of these words. It inscribed a new page in the relations between our two countries, and enhanced their importance at a time when every nation and country can and must contribute to the common struggle for peace and security.

Zhivkov Receives DPRK's Kim Chong-suk

AU291724 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] On 29 February Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Kim Chong-suk, member of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and editor in chief of the daily MINJU CHOSON, who is visiting Bulgaria. The meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council.

Netherlands Foreign Minister To Visit in March

AU291920 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Hans van den Broek, minister of foreign affairs of the Netherlands, will pay an official visit to our country in the first half of March 1988.

Todorov, M.P.'s Meet Soares in Lisbon

AU261235 Sofia BTA in English 1145 GMT 26 Feb 88

["Bulgarian M.P.'s in Portugal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Lisbon, February 26 (BTA)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, which is visiting Portugal, was received by President Mario Soares.

The head of the delegation conveyed to the Portuguese leader cordial greetings from State Council President Todor Zhivkov and expressed Bulgaria's desire for a continued vigorous promotion of bilateral economic, techno-scientific and cultural ties. Mr Mario Soares thanked and said that Portugal seeks to maintain good relations with all European countries, to contribute to the progress of the CSCE process. The two statesmen commended highly the Soviet-American INF Treaty and expressed the hope that more steps will be taken to rid the world of the nuclear weapons threat.

The Bulgarian M.P.'s met with Mr Vitor Crespo, speaker of the Assembly of the Republic. They exchanged information and experience on the functioning of the two countries' legislatures. An emphasis was laid on the need to give an impetus to the promotion of bilateral economic, techno-scientific and cultural ties and to go ahead with new forms of cooperation. It was indicated that peace and detente are the only sensible goals which the countries of Europe and world-wide should seek to attain.

The National Assembly delegation also conferred with Mr Antonio Capucho, minister of parliamentary affairs.

Return to Sofia

AU262021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 88

[Text] The National Assembly delegation led by its chairman, Stanko Todorov, returned this evening from Lisbon. It had been on an 6-day official visit to Portugal at the invitation of the Assembly of the Republic.

Leaders Greet Czechs on Victorious February

AU010938 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Feb 88 p 1

[Greeting message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers, on the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades:

The BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Bulgaria's Communists and working people send most cordial greetings and wishes to the CPCZ Central Committee and all CSSR people on the 40th anniversary of the Victorious February, which created the basic political conditions for the socialist development of fraternal Czechoslovakia.

In the memorable days of February 1948 the workers class, in an alliance with the working peasants and the progressive elements of the intelligentsia finally resolved Czechoslovakia's power in favor of socialism.

During the past 40 years the CSSR people, led by the CPCZ, have achieved remarkable successes in all areas of life. Today your country occupies a worthy place in the family of the socialist countries and is making its contribution to the cause of socialism and the struggle for disarmament and peace.

We are confident that friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the CSSR will further develop and strengthen for the benefit of our peoples and in the name of world progress and peace.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the CSSR Communists and all working people new successes in implementing the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, as well as the tasks of restructuring and accelerating the country's economic and social development, for the benefit of the CSSR people and the further prosperity of your socialist motherland.

State Council Announces Election Results

AU291936 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 29 Feb 88

["Results of Local Elections"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 29 (BTA)—An announcement of the Bulgarian State Council on the results of the elections held on February 28, 1988 for regional and municipal people's councils, for mayors and for people's councillors points out that the elections were prepared and took place in the atmosphere of the profound restructuring underway in the entire social life in Bulgaria and in conformity with the Bulgarian Constitution and the Electoral Law. The political and the other public organizations, the work teams and the electors were given the opportunity to nominate, discuss and register more than one candidate for each people's councillor and mayor post.

In the 55,539 electoral districts there were registered 66,048 candidates for people's councillors and mayors.

According to the final returns 6,652,792 voters were entered in the registers. Of them 6,595,981, or 99.15 Per cent of the electorate, took part in the elections, 6,339,339 of them or 99.06 per cent voting for the registered candidates.

A total of 1,336 people's councillors were elected in the regional people's councils and the Sofia People's Council, 89.06 per cent of the electors having voted for and 0.80 per cent against.

25,866 people's councillors have been elected in the municipal people's councils, 89.10 per cent voted for them and 0.93 per cent against them.

There have been elected 3,953 mayors, 94.33 per cent of the electors having voted for them and 1.36 per cent against them, as well as 23,959 members of the borough councils, 89.80 per cent of the electors voting for them and 1.47 Per cent against.

Elections were not held in five electoral districts—one for a regional people's council, three for municipal people's councils, and one for mayor. In these regions the candidates died after they were registered.

In 302 electoral districts the candidates did not collect the necessary number of votes and therefore there have not been elected 13 people's councillors in the regional people's councils and in the Sofia People's Council, 157

people's councillors in the municipal people's councils and 132 members of the borough councils. 31 Mayors have also have also not been elected.

By-elections will be held in the electoral districts in which no elections took place or in which none of the candidates were elected.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Safety Discussed

AU011245 Sofia BTA in English
1042 GMT 1 Mar 88

["For Safe Nuclear Power"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—"The protection of the life and the health of the people and of the natural environment in the generation of nuclear power is a prime concern and it has priority over economic and other needs", reads Article 3 of the Law For the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Power adopted in 1985.

The setting up of biological protection screens, of airtight volumes and the organized collecting and storing of radioactive wastes are some of the comprehensive measures applied in the exploitation of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station.

The radiation control system is a part of the automated system for controlling and monitoring technological processes. It is divided into two parts—technological radiation control and dosimetric radiation control.

The radiation situation in the region of Kozloduy is being monitored through an extended system of dosimetric control. The waters of the River Danube, of the rivers running into it, the bed sediments, duckweeds, the aerosols, the soil, the plants, meat, milk and other foodstuffs are constantly monitored.

In their control activities the Bulgarian organizations and departments are using the experience accumulated by the CMEA member states and by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The radiation security norms and rules which have been introduced here are among the most stringent ones in Europe.

Not a single time have the limits of radioactive pollution set in the normative documents been exceeded in the 13-year long exploitation of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station, Mr Boris Georgiev, deputy chairman of the Committee For the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Power, told journalists recently. The regularly held joint studies of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia are also indicative of this. The summed up results show that nuclear power station waste waters have brought about no rise in the radioactivity of the River Danube. The doses of the irradiation of the people in the region are evaluated as 10 to the 4th degree times less than the dose received from the natural radioactive sources.

Questions on Soviet Missiles Answered

AU292052 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 88 p 7

[Stanislav Stibor article in the "In Response to Readers' Questions" column: "On Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Missiles"; boldface passages as published]

[Text] **Readers have been turning to the editorial office with a number of questions in connection with the commenced withdrawal of Soviet OTR-22 operational-tactical missiles with nuclear warheads from CSSR territory. The questions concern not only the Soviet missile base, but also the equipment of the Czechoslovak People's Army with missiles, problems concerning the organization and the safety of the missiles' transport, and the like. Some readers even claim to have seen missiles similar to those they have now seen on television or on press photographs in other parts of the republic.**

First of all, let us draw attention to the fact that there is only one base for Soviet nuclear missiles in Czechoslovakia—in Hranice na Morave, which is also mentioned in the appropriate section of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles of 8 December 1987.

As has been reported previously, 39 Soviet OTR-22 (SS-12) operational-tactical missiles were deployed on our territory in 1983, to which also belong mobile launchers, 24 of which were in Hranice. **There have never been, and are not, any nuclear missiles on the territory of Czechoslovakia, except for the area of Hranice na Morave.** Following the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Hranice, the CSSR will again be a country without nuclear missiles as **our Army, in harmony with the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, has never possessed nuclear devices.**

If our readers claim to have seen a similar missile in other localities of the Republic, this is because the OTR-22 missile complexes closely resemble mobile operational-tactical missiles with conventional (non-nuclear) warheads, which are part of our Army's equipment. They also have an eight-wheel undercarriage and the cabin and the mask of the vehicle are quite similar [to those of the OTR-22]. These missiles can be seen during transfers to various exercises but they could also be seen during the last military parades on Prague's Letna Plain and in Bratislava in 1985. Members of our rocket troops are well-trained in their operation, but no firing of live ammunition from this weapon takes place in our country.

As to the problem of the transport of the Soviet missile technology from Hranice to the USSR, it can be said that the mobile OTR-22 missile complex consists of the launching equipment, the carrier (that is, the missile itself), and the nuclear warhead. These three components are shipped separately. It was the launching equipment that was being loaded in Hranice na Morave on Thursday [25 February]. The shipment of carriers in special containers will follow next. Special and extraordinary provisions have been taken to ensure the safety of the transport of nuclear warheads.

The withdrawal of nuclear missiles from the CSSR will last until mid-March. Until then it will be necessary to transfer not only the aforementioned individual parts of the missile complexes, but also other technical safety and control devices.

Chnoupek: Missile Withdrawal Act of Good Will

PM261159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

["Our Interview" with CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek by unnamed "our correspondent" under the general heading "Last Post"; date and place not given]

[Text] "Soviet missiles appeared on CSSR territory with the agreement of our government as a response to U.S. actions. This was in the interests both of our own security and the security of other Warsaw Pact countries. The siting in West Europe of Pershing-2 missiles and cruise missiles has increased the dangerous potential of a NATO first strike.

"The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has created the possibility of withdrawing Soviet operational and tactical missiles from our territory. They have fulfilled their task....

"Regarding the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from our territory as an act of good will on the Soviet Union's part, its aim, undoubtedly, is to improve the international atmosphere. In addition, this is further proof of the USSR's willingness to honestly and consistently fulfill its commitments stemming from the treaties signed, even to fulfill them ahead of schedule. Now it is important that the process of ratification in the U.S. Senate is completed successfully.

"The withdrawal of nuclear missile weapons and their subsequent elimination together with other Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a very significant event. It is a specific contribution to the cause of peace, a significant step in the implementation of a bold program to rid the planet of nuclear weapons before the end of the present century. M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 proposal was welcomed by the world's peace-loving forces as the most reliable guarantee of mankind's survival. This program, which we consider to be historic, meets with our complete support.

"It is symbolic that the beginning of the withdrawal of operational and tactical missiles comes at a time when we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people. The Czechoslovak public sincerely welcomes this and expresses the

conviction that other important treaties in the sphere of disarmament will be reached which would rid mankind from the burden of heavy arms.

"The signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons has created a more favorable atmosphere in international relations which is essential to utilize for further dialogue in the disarmament sphere. This concerns, above all, the halving of arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons and the banning of chemical weapons. Other urgent questions also remain to be resolved—reducing the level of conventional arms and banning underground nuclear tests.... "

Planned Closure of PLO's UN Office Condemned
LD011030 Prague CTK in English
0852 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 1 (CTK correspondent)—The U.S. decision to close the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer mission at the United Nations violates U.S. obligations as host country and casts doubts on its pledge to stick to basic principles of the U.N. Charter, Czechoslovakia's U.N. ambassador told the General Assembly on Monday night.

Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky, rejecting the U.S. move, said the action represented "another one of a whole series of measures by the host country interfering, in various ways, in routine activity of a number of permanent U.N. missions."

He said incompatibility of the decision to close the PLO mission and the headquarters agreement was "beyond all doubt."

Zapotocky said Czechoslovakia fully supported a draft assembly resolution proposing to submit the matter to international arbitration, and backed a proposal to request an advisory judgement from the International Court of Justice.

The provision to close the mission is part of a State Department spending bill scheduled to take effect on March 21.

Zapotocky, calling the decision "a gesture of arrogance", said the move cast doubts on the U.S.'s promise to observe basic principles of the U.N. Charter and, if implemented, "would set a dangerous precedent as there is no guarantee the U.S. will not take a similar attitude to other nations."

Jakes Addresses 1948 Anniversary Meeting
LD241515 Prague Television Service in Czech
1303 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Speech by CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes at meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the Federal Assembly Presidium, and the CSSR Government "on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the CSSR working people's victory over reaction in February 1948" held at the Spanish Hall in Prague Castle]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades and Guests:

Forty years separate us from the dramatic events of February 1948, from the glorious victory of the Czechoslovak workers and people over the bourgeoisie. Broad masses of the working people, led by the CPCZ, by their resolute revolutionary acts thwarted the attempts of the reactionary forces to bring about a return to the capitalist system in our country and spoke out unequivocally in favor of the socialist path of development. Political power was transferred fully into the hands of the working class, and working people became the masters and stewards of their country. Since then new annals of our nations have begun to be written, the annals of their socialist era.

The Victorious February of 1948 was the culmination of the transition of our national and democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. With justified pride and awareness of the highest degree of responsibility for the future destiny of socialism in our country we shall continue to return to its great legacy and shall continue through new revolutionary acts to further develop it, enrich it creatively, and guard it vigilantly. [applause]

The February victory of the working people was the logical outcome of their many years of struggles full of sacrifices for social and national liberation, for the overthrowing of the rule of capital, for a more just system of society, inspired by the glorious example and noble ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We justly see in the CSSR's February a creative application of the legacy of Great October, Whose historic signifcance, force, and topicality we once again recalled with new urgency last year.

We, too, realize how profoundly truthful are the ideas expressed by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that historical revolutionary events do not belong to the past, but find their expression in a new revolutionary drive for the further development of socialism, increasing its reputation and attractiveness in the current historic struggle for the strengthening of peace. In the events of February we find an answer to the direction and essence of our modern history. As a consequence of the historical development a new force stood logically at the head of our nations, bearing the main burden of the antifascist and national liberation struggle—the working class and its vanguard, the CPCZ.

Through its devotion and dedication to the struggle for the interests of the people, the Communist Party won the trust of the broad masses of the people. The bitter historical experiences of the hard struggle for the character of the Czechoslovak republic after 1918 exerted a decisive influence upon our people's attitudes. Over the 20 years of its rule the bourgeoisie was incapable of resolving a single basic social and living issue of working people, nor was it able to construct relations between our peoples on an equal basis. The tragic experience with

Munich was indelibly inscribed in the memory of the people. The betrayal of the Czechoslovak grand bourgeoisie and Czechoslovakia's then western allies led to the breakdown of the republic and, ultimately, to the grave years of Nazi subjugation. We had to pay dearly for renewing our national freedom and state independence. This led to the conviction among the broad people's masses that the bourgeoisie, which has absolutely failed in the test of the history, had lost the right to decide the fate of our country.

We recall once again with respect the heroic antifascist resistance of our people in which many of the best sons and daughters of our peoples laid down their lives for the renewal of our freedom. The experiences of the hard and costly national liberation struggle, culminating in the Slovak National Uprising and the May Uprising of the Czech people, are deeply engraved in the consciousness of the working people. This had a strong influence upon their attitudes and resolves in the postwar struggle for settlement of the conditions in the liberated homeland.

The correct nature of the foreign political orientation of the CPCZ toward the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union has been demonstrated in full. It was the Soviet Union which took up a position of defending Czechoslovakia against the fascist threat. It was its famous army which at the cost of enormous sacrifices brought freedom to our peoples, too. We are proud of the fact that the Czechoslovak army corps led by Ludvik Svoboda courageously traveled the battle path from Buzuluk to Prague at its side. Neither do we forget those Czechoslovak citizens who fought against fascism at other fronts of World War II. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people, from which we also drew hope and strength in our national liberation struggle, and the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to the victory over fascism within the framework of the anti-Hitlerite coalition enormously strengthened the influence and the attractiveness of socialist ideas.

The people's decision to take their destiny into their own hands was significantly aided by the experiences of the acute postwar class struggles in the years 1945-48, the focus of which was the struggle for the fulfillment of the Kosice government programe, which was the first programe of the National Front government of Czechs and Slovaks. On the basis of this programe the nationalization of heavy industry and banking was implemented, the property of traitors and collaborators was expropriated, the state apparatus was purged, and new bodies of state administration and people's power—the national committees—were created.

During those years our people once again underwent a great political education, and the party itself acquired strength and multiplied its membership. The implementation of the Kosice government program became a test of the sincerity and ability of the political parties of the then National Front to work in accordance with the interests of the people. The broad strata of the working people were thus able to find out from their own experience the real attitude of individual parties to the program of people's and democratic revolution and the perfidious, reactionary, and anti-people's policy of that part of the bourgeoisie which shared power even in postwar years.

Just as in the time of hard struggles for the rights of the working people, against social and national oppression, for the defense of the republic, and against the fascist occupants, the communists in the postwar years, too, stood unwaveringly on the side of the working class, the small and medium-sized farmers, and the progressive intelligentsia, and decisively defended their interests.

They consistently pushed through full implementation of the broad scope opened up by the people's democratic system and by the deep political, economic, social, and cultural changes contained in the Kosice government program. They were a truly vanguard force of the great revolutionary movement of the working class and the broad strata of working people, guided consistently by the slogan "facing the masses". Against the split on which the reaction was relying, the CPCZ asserted a clear and easily understood policy of renewal and development of the country, that is why it became a recognized leading force in society. When the bourgeois reaction attempted to reverse that development, the people rallied around the communist party and defended the revolutionary achievements. It was the decisiveness and capability of the CPCZ and its leadership, headed by Klement Gottwald, linked with the broad movement and support of the people, which became the decisive factors for the working people.

We cannot but recall on this occasion the memorable congress of enterprise councils and revolutionary trade unions, in which the loyal son of the working class, Antonin Zapotocky, played an important role, the protest strikes the meetings throughout the republic, and the birth of the People's Militias and their decisive action.

Party policy was supported by the congress of peasants' commissions, organizations, and political parties in the reborn National Front and also the congress of workers in culture and art. Action committees of the National Front played a revolutionary role in those dramatic days of cleaning up public and political life. All those events were a spontaneous demonstration of the will and determination of our people to move onto the path of socialism.

Such, in short, is the historical truth about February 1948. It was not some kind of communist coup, as is constantly put out by hostile propaganda. It was the will of the people and their response to the anti-people's policy of the bourgeois reactionary forces and to the counterrevolutionary coup which they attempted in those February days. Those forces undertook a gamble; they believed promises and relied on imperialist powers which caused the collapse before February 1948 of the

antifascist coalition and the start of formation of the extensive anti-people's, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet bloc which unleashed the cold war. Its aim was to stop the postwar revolutionary offensive of the people's masses, to revise the results of World War II, and then to suppress the revolutionary movement. That did happen in a number of countries.

The CPCZ managed in the period of the national liberation struggle and in the postwar period to win over to the side of the revolution the broadest people's masses and to unite them in a powerful force. All the attempts by reaction to stop or even to reverse the wheel of history were logically doomed because of the united will of the party and the people thus for the first time the socialist revolution prevailed in an industrially advanced country with democratic traditions, and by using peaceful, parliamentary mean under the 1920 constitution. It was a victory of creative Leninism, a historical success, and a great contribution by our party also to the storehouse of experiences of the entire international communist movement. It was very important, too, that in the power struggle in February 1948 our people could rely on the most loyal ally, the Soviet Union. This made it impossible for the imperialist forces to interfere openly in our internal affairs. Our nations were able to decide their destiny independently and freely.

Thus, world reaction's to plans to preserve capitalism in Czechoslovakia and to make our country dependent yet again on imperialist powers failed. The victory of the Czechoslovak working people thus had a great significance also internationally. It was, at the same time, a victory for the international communist and workers movement, and progressive and democratic forces. It unequivocally confirmed our foreign policy orientation in unshakable friendship, alliance, and cooperation with the USSR. Our country became a firm part of the emerging socialist community. [applause]

Comrades, today, when we are yet again recalling the famous victory of the Czechoslovak working people 40 years ago, when we are returning to its heritage in order to draw from it strength and inspiration for our further work, we express deep respect for all the known and unknown heroes of February 1948, party members and officials, revolutionary trade unions, workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, and all honest people who in those fatal February days gathered around the CPCZ and resolutely stood in defense of the advantages of the peoples' democracy and the great ideals of socialism. [applause]

Sincere thanks then go to the members of our People's Militia, which was founded in February and, together with the other armed components, still vigilantly watches over the revolutionary advantages of the people. [applause] Well-deserved praise goes to Klement Gottwald, the great son of our working classes, with whose name Victorious February will be forever linked. [applause] Under his leadership our party grew into a true revolutionary force; it became capable, in a creative way, of using Lenin's ideas toward working out a complete concept of turning the peoples' democratic revolution into socialist revolution in the Czechoslovak conditions. Gottwald's principles, his loyalty to the cause of the working people, his creative application of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, his emphasis on the unity and capability of the party and its links with the people, and on harmonizing words and actions, his uncompromising attitude toward the struggle against the enemies of socialism, his profound attitude toward the USSR, constitute an example even today. They inspire and strengthen us also in implementation of the revolutionary restructuring of society. [applause]

Comrades, during the 40 years which have passed since from Victorious February, the correctness and truthfulness of ideas which at that time were so much the subject of struggle and from which our socialist present grew, have been tested in practice. One of the positive results of the revolutionary transformations is the fact that the position of the working people has been changed fundamentally. By eliminating exploitation, the previous sharp class and social differences and the uncertainty and apprehensions concerning the future have disappeared. The right to work and rest, guaranteed by the Constitution, the great rise in personal and social consumption, the general accessibility and high standards of education and culture, the development of science, the broadly developed system of social and pension security, the care of mothers and families with children, free health care, extensive housing construction, the building of educational, cultural, sports and other facilities—all this is convincing evidence of the great advantages of socialism. It confirms that the main meaning of the policy of the CPCZ, the National Front, and the socialist state has always been, is, and will be fare for the well-being of the people, and respecting and safeguarding their rights, interests, and needs. [applause] Our socialist society now possesses a powereful production technical base, advanced industry, and advanced agriculture.

The bond between the working class, the cooperative farmers and intelligentsia, and indeed all the strata of the working people has been strengthened. There has been widescale development of the activity of all social organizations and political parties of the National Front, which is the core of our socialist political system. Relations of equality, brotherhood, and firm unity of the Czechs and Slovaks and all nationalities have become a genuine reality in our country, and have found expression in the legal enshrinement of the federative state of our republic.

The socialist system has succeeded in surmounting the economic, social, and cultural differences which came about through history in various regions of our country. The results we have attained are also due in part to our active participation in the activity of cema and to the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist

states affiliated to the Warsaw Pact Organisation we have rsolved the centuries-old vital problem of the external guarantees of the freedom, independence, and security of our nations. All this is the undeniable historic success we have achieved since February, and which we are bound to protect and further development. It is an enormous achievement by the CPCZ, the National Front, and the dedicated and constructive work of the broadest strata of our people. Today, from this platform, we wish once again to thank the working class, the cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia, communists, nonparty people, and members of other political parties and all National Front organizations who played their part in ensuring that socialism triumphed in our country, and continue to spare no effort for its further development. [applause]

In recalling the great achievement of our people, we do not forget the difficult and complicated path we have trodden since February—a path not only of success, but also of setbacks. We had to cope with objective influences that hampered the construction of socialism and also with subjective errors, mistakes, and deformations which are alien to socialism and which caused great damage. It is to the credit of the Communist Party and our country's working class that they succeeded in finding the correct solutions in the interests and benefit of the development of socialism in our country.

The ninth party congress in 1949 worked out the general line for building socialism in our country. It was a question of strengthening the power of the working class and the bond between the workers, farmers, and progressive intelligentsia; industrializing the country; changing small-scale agricultural production into large-scale production by organizing it into cooperatives; and dealing with the serious tasks of the cultural revolution. The establishment of cooperatives in the countryside was in itself a great, historic, and revolutionary feat that required enormous persuasive and organizational work by the party and great help from the working class. This campaign found support in a large number of farmers, because it was in their most vital interests. Its results brought about fundamental changes in the overall way of life in the countryside, and a new class, that of the cooperative farmers, was formed.

All these tasks had to be tackled in the considerably difficult conditions of a bitter class struggle, when ravenous imperialism was whipping up the Cold War and threatened to turn that Cold War at any moment into a real military conflagration. This in many ways influenced the decisions adopted. It was necessary to take urgent measures to ensure the defense of socialism, step up the pace of the growth of heavy industry. These were decisions that were objectively necessary in that situation. However, the insistence on the priority expansion of heavy industry in later years began to bring about complications in the development of the economy and in shaping the modern structure of our manufacturing base.

When talking about the fifties one cannot ignore that gross violations of socialist laws took place during that period. The Communist Party resolutely condemned these tragic errors and drew significant conclusions so that they would not be repeated. Communists and our people even at that time demonstrated their attitude toward socialism by enthusiastic and selfless work, which brought tangible results. Thus, at the end of the fifties the tasks set out by the 9th party congress were fulfilled in principle. In a historically short period the foundations of socialism had been laid in our country.

The sixties were a complicated period in our country's development. At that time our society recorded further progress. Gradually, however, serious difficulties begun to grow, above all in the economy. It was above all subjectivism and voluntarism that was its source. The real needs and possibilities of society and specific Czechoslovak conditions were not respected. The situation at that time required a push through to an orientation toward intensive development of the economy and, corresponding to it, methods of planning and management of the national economy, as set out by the 13th CPCZ Congress.

The party leadership at the time did not react appropriately to these vitally important demands. Although some measures were adopted, they were not carried through consistantly to the end or linked to necessary changes in the methods of the work of the party, state authorities, or the cadre area. Problems were tackled half-heartedly or were dodged, and their importance was disguised. This provoked tension in the party and society, and dissatisfaction grew. The party's ability to take action, its ideological unity and links with the people were weakened. This all led at the end of the sixties to a deep crisis in the party and society.

The causes of the crisis and the costly experience of overcoming its consequences were summed up and explained in detail in the well-known document, Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Party Congress. It contains a truthful view of the events, and there is no reason to change it today. We regard it as correct, to emphasize this stand because some representatives of the so-called Prague spring have been attempting to present the developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968 as a predecessor of restructuring and call for its reassessment. History is, however, a strict and merciless judge. There is an enormous difference between restructuring in the Soviet Union and our country and the intentions of the right at that time. While our aim is to develop the revolutionary legacy of Great October and February 1948, truly to renew socialism, and to make full use of all its advantages and possibilities, the activity of the rightist forces in 1968, however they tried to disguise it by using various phrases, was aimed at destroying the socialist system, revenging the revolutionary results of victorious February, and detaching our country from the alliance of the Warsaw Pact states. These forces, at odds with the

endeavours of the people who receive with hope and gave support to the conclusions of the session of the CPCZ Central Committee in January 1968, thwarted a great opportunity to resolve important problems and made way for the disruptive activity of antisocialist elements. Our country gradually found itself on the threshold of counterrevolution.

The sound forces in the party and society saw this growing danger and began a difficult and complicated struggle against it. The party leadership at the time, however, failed to unite them. Thanks only to the internationalist assistance of our friends, the tragic development failed to materialize. We also know, and we still have this fresh in our memory, what enormous effort it took to overcome the crisis and its consequences and to lead our society out of the crisis and put it on the path of further upward socialist development, which was predetermined significantly by the 14th party congress in 1971.

We justly assess this congress as a victory over rightist-opportunist and antisocialist forces, as the congress of the unbreakable strength of socialism, which developed further in a creative manner the revolutionary legacy of 1948. This was the result of enormous work of the CPCZ, its leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak. In a relatively short period, using political means, we succeeded in mastering the process of consolidation in the party and society and in renewing the real values of socialism in our country.

The 17th congress of our party discussed the balance sheet of the results achieved since the beginning of the seventies. It emerges from them that we coped successfully with the consequences of the social crisis and renewed the socialist principles of guiding society, managing the national economy, and applying the leading role of the party. The CPCZ by its policy won the trust and support of the working people and the whole National Front. Our society achieved unquestionable advancement.

At the same time we realize that this period had its own features and that a number of contradictory factors of both objective and subjective nature were in operation. Not always did we master the tasks in the way they had been set out before us and as was necessary. Moreover, at the threshold of the seventies the international situation worsened, coupled with significant changes in world economy, which were reflected in our economy. The reaction to the new situation, which called for a thorough change toward intensification, toward speeding up scientific and technological development, toward pushing through new methods of management, was slow. Self-satisfaction was manifested in many places in the management field. The solution ofproblems was being postponed. Party and state discipline and supervisory activity were being weakened. Resolutions that concerned fundamental issues, changes in the structure of production were not being implemented consistantly. The tackling of a number of problems was made difficult and restricted by the low effectiveness of the international socialist division of labor.

Thus, as a result of unfavorable objective circumstance as well as of low exactingness, lack of thoroughness and flexibility, of persisting with obsolete forms of organization and management of low effectiveness, the pace of the economic development gradually slowed down. Difficulties with the fulfillment of the plan, in contractual relations, problems both on the home market and in foreign trade begun to grow. This all was reflected to various degrees in other areas of public life and the overall atmosphere in society. The situation called with an ever increasing urgency for the elimination of barriers standing in the way of carrying out fundamental changes in the economy and the whole society so as to ensure that their development took on a new and higher dynamism in the interest of better satisfying our present and future needs.

Proceeding from the state and problems facing our society, in particular the requirements for its future development and from the inspiring influence of the Leninist course of the CPSU, we reached a conclusion about the necessity of fundamental restructuring in all areas of public life. This conclusion found its expression in the strategic line of acceleration of social and economic development of our country set out by the 17th party congress. The party's Central Committee solidified and developed further this line at its sessions in March and in particular in December last year, embodied in the comprehensive program for the fundamental restructuring of the economic mechanism and the further deepening of socialist democracy as two principal pillars of society-wide restructuring.

It is a program of far-reaching revolutionary changes of the base and superstructure, in the application of social justice, and in the formation of overall social relations. Its goal is to uplift our socialist society to a new qualitatively superior level. Therefore, we are right to emphasize that restructuring is the continuation of the revolution in new conditions. Its success will depend on the extensive revealing and utilization of material, the social and spiritual resources of socialism on the basis of activization of the creative forces and abilities of the wide mases of the people through the deepening of socialist democracy.

We understand socialist democracy as a realistic moving force of healthy social progress, as a key factor that substantially influences the life, behavior, and thinking of man and the overall ethical atmosphere in the society. Only by developing it consistently and in a nonformalistic way is it possible to attain a real and aware participation of the wide groups of the people in the decision-making about state, social, and economic affairs; about the issues of life at workplaces and in the home; and their active involvement in the implementation of the adopted resolutions. We shall develop and reinforce the

course that we have started in this direction. We shall pay thorough attention to making sure that in practice the profoundly democratic essence of our political system is fully manifested, as it is one of the greatest achievements attained by our people in their fight for revolutionary change in our society.

The socialist political system in our country enables our people— regardless of their political membership, nationality, world outlook, or religious conviction—to take an extensive part in the creation, implementation, and verification of policy in all spheres. It is a system of real democracy and equality, real pluralism, the expression of which is our National Front with its wide structure of interests and organizations. No bourgeois democracy can provide such possibilities.

We shall develop and reinforce our political system in all directions. We shall follow the path of open policy, extensive public excess to information and inspection, deepening and reinforcing the forms of self-management, and participation by the people in the management of the economy and society.

We greatly emphasize the extensive scale of the application of profoundly democratic principles of work in the activity of state, economic, and mass bodies and organizations and representative and legislative bodies, and that honest and open dialogue must be conducted with citizens about the weighty issues of the life of the society. From this viewpoint, the role and responsibility of national committees is increasing, and we shall extend and reinforce their authority. They are the basic part of the state administration and power, and we lean upon them in addressing the daily needs of the citizens. We must pay attention to the creation of a healthy atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism and openness everywhere, and the views of the people must be taken into account attentively and sensitively.

We shall fight firmly against formalism, against everything that undermines the creative activity and initiative of the working people, that leads to indifference and passivity. We must not forget that socialist democracy incorporates not only rights but also duties: to be well organized, to be orderly, to be disciplined. Unfortunately we have many problems in this very area. Democracy and discipline, personal freedom, and the responsibility of citizens are not antagonistic in our society but form a unity. It is a principle that applies to all levels and to everybody. The expansion of democracy never means the creation of space for the legalization political opposition, which, as all experience so far has shown, cannot be anything but antisocialist.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the February Victory, we consider it correct yet again to highly stress and praise the role of the National Front, which was born in the people's liberation struggle. It has an important and irreplaceable role in uniting the effort of citizens in speeding up our progress. We shall make sure that the role of organizations and political parties united in it can grow further, both in public and social life in tackling social and economic tasks, and in the creation, implementation, and verification of politics.

Comrades, one of the main factors that reuires a new way of thinking and working is the need to connect socialism with the scientific-technical revolution as the basic prerequisite for a dynamic growth of the society. What is involved is bringing about harmony between the new requirements and the development of production forces and production relations, achieving by means of intensification, new qualities of economic growth. That is the only way to safeguard a constant rise in the living standard of the people, strengthen their social security, and satisfy the growing demands of the society. On this depends the authority of our country in the international community and increasing its contribution in the historical struggle for social progress and peace in the world.

Stemming from this is the need for a fundamental reform of our entire economy, and within its framework, comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism. As has been emphasized many times before, this is a step of great revolutionary significance, involving very radical transformations in the management of the national economy since February 1948. We must do away with all that stands in the way of intensive development, we must overcome the negative forces that have built up over the years, we must provide for the management of our economy forms that fully correspond to the conditions of scientific-technical revolution and the new needs of the development of our society.

To put it another way, the focal point of the changes we are preparing and gradually beginning to implement is a resolute transition from directive administrative to predominantly economic methods and instruments of management. The idea is to increase the dynamism of its development; to stimulate scientific-technical progress, high quality, and efficiency of production. The advocated changes are aimed at increasing the activity and initiative of labor collektivs, their general involvement in the final results of work and management. What is also involved is freeing the entire axis of economic management from the present considerable and cumbersome methods, from unnecessary intermediate links, and making a transition to two-tier management. All this envisages significant changes in the position and behavior of both the sphere of enterprises and the central organs, and also in the relations between them.

As is apparent from draft bills on state enterprise and agricultural and nonagricultural cooperatives which were supported in a popular debate and which have been submitted to the Federal Assembly, we are following a path of expanding the independence of enterprises, increasing their jurisdiction and responsibility for the results of work in applying the principles of complete financial autonomy. This corresponds to the principles of socialism, so that the people can become bona fide

and responsible managers whose most intrinsic interest is maximally efficient utilization of all production resources. No true manager can be interested in producing with losses, in producing low-quality goods, in waste or disorder at workplaces, in the produced values not finding their use. Such a situation cannot be considered normal. That is why we attach great significance to self-management of labor collektivs and their organs in making decisions on the basic questions of the economic and social development of enterprises, as well as on electing management employees. Naturally, this requires that the necessary rights be given to labor collektivs, that people receive the necessary information, that they know what is going on and can express their views, demands, and experience.

As far as central authorities are concerned, the government is working intensively on the new delimitation of their purpose and tasks and their more effective and economical organization. This is a very important task. One should not view matters as if there were to be some kind of weakening of the role played by the center in the management of the economy. On the contrary, it must be strengthened, but in a totally new concept and quality. This means ridding oneself resolutely of methods of work that do not correspond to the current conditions and that frequently create direct barriers to the speedier development of the economy. Central authorities must abandon the day-to-day management of enterprises and put an end to interference in their every-day activity. Their chief role must be conceptual work and strategic decisionmaking; that is where central management in the socialist society is indispensable. The new organization of central authorities is undoubtedly a sensitive issue. It will be bound up with a number of organizational changes and, as a result, with a considerable movement of cadres. The fact that someone departs from a ministry or from a production-economic unit does not mean that he will loose the possibility of finding his position in society and work. The necessary conditions and social guarantees will be created for this purpose. Unemployment does not threaten our country.

We shall be dealing in the foreseeable future with the organization of central authorities as well as the solution of other questions connected with it, including a transition to two-tier management in the field of the national economy at a meeting of Party's Central Committee. There can be no doubt whatever that the changes the restructuring of the economic mechanism will bring into the economy will increase substantialiy demands on managerial activity, on the activity of managerial workers at all levels. They must prove their ability to think anew, they must prove their competence and rid themselves of technocratic and falsely-liberalistic methods of leading the people, of making excuses and conducting administration by mere injunction. They must manifest their political and moral maturity and adopt economic methods of management. For this reason, the preparation of cadres, their training, working with them, encouraging them to be creative and show initiative and a high degree of responsibility, as well as supervising their activity, must rank among our primary tasks everywhere.

Restructuring the economic mechanism, like the entire development of our economy, is bound up indivisibly with active, strong, and just social policy. The purpose of socialism is to ensure that the people live better, that their life is fuller and richer materially and culturally, that the real humanism of our system manifests itself more distinctly. We regard social and cultural progress in society as an important stimulating factor of economic growth, promoting intensification, increasing the effectiveness of the economy, technical standards of production, and labor productivity. Changes in the labor code under preparation must contribute to this.

We can achieve a breakthrough only if we assert consistantly everywhere the fundamental principle of socialism, reward concrete results of work for its real contribution, and if we overcome egalitarianism, which has deep roots in the practice and thinking of people. This is an evil which we have to eliminate at any cost, for it causes not only economic and but also serious moral losses. To take away from the good ones to give to the bad is immoral and is at odds with social justice in our society.

In restructuring the economic mechanism we proceed fully from our internal conditions and needs, making use at the same time of the experiences of other socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union. The width and depth, the extent and newness of the tasks we are tackling only increase the worth of this collective wealth of experience. In the interest of the development of socialist economic integration and increasing its effectiveness we support fully the course toward the restructuring of the mechanism of economic cooperation amongst the CEMA countries and the activity of the council, and the drafting of the joint long-range concept of the international division of labor, both in production and sciences.

We are actively contributing to this work. Raising the efficiency of our national economy is inseparable from the development of external economic relations, first and foremost with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time we are in favor of developing equal and mutually advantantageous economic and scientific and technical cooperation with all other states.

Comrades, the restructuring of the economic mechanism and all spheres of the life of the society is not a single task. It is a demanding and complex process that will require considerable efforts for a certain time. We have to consistently and step by step implement what we have undertaken, and we have mapped out a time schedule for this. The preparatory period of the first 3 years will be particularly difficult. Nothing can be put off without reason or under the impression of exactingness and difficulties. However, we shall have to beware of hasty and unpremeditated actions. Both of them would be damaging and could lead to the discrediting of our plans and also to the revival of the old ways of management, planning, and administration that have been overcome. We must reckon with the fact that life, practice, and experience from experimental verification of

the principles of the new economic mechanism, which are being broadened by us, will require certain corrections, a more detailed approach, and changes. It cannot be otherwise when such a complex matter is at issue. It is not necessary to pretend that restructuring is connected with some risks, too. However, the biggest error we could commit would be to be deterred by the difficulties, to mark time, or to cling to old management methods. We have to take into consideration the fact that restructuring itself is incapable of solving all the problems against which we struggle. It would be naive to suppose that radical change will occur as soon as it has been implemented.

The economic mechanism is a collection of devices and criteria which are run by the people, and the way they use it will depend on them. The restructuring of the economy requires not only the restructuring of the economic mechanism, but also new approaches to businesslike decisionmaking, to direct management, to discipline and order, to structural changes and to the socialist economic integration. An effective tackling of ecological problems and the requirements linked with creating and protecting the environment is a task of exceptional significance on which we must focus major attention. The success of restructuring the economic mechanism does not rest solely on new laws and the most perfect organizational measures. These are certainly necessary, but it is first and foremost dependent on the activity of people, on the way they perceive the inevitability of this process, on their committed, creative, and involved implementation of the assigned intentions. Here, a major role is given to the Communists at all sections, in the trade unions, in the work with the people, and in other organizations of the National Front, in our entire political system. The February 1948 experience provides us with stimuli and shows us how to work to win over the overwhelming majority of citizens for restructuring. We want to deal with these important issues which concern education and restructuring at the session of the party's Central Committee. The recent session of the CPSU Central Committee also provides us with many inspiring stimuli in this respect.

One cannot speak about restructuring and at the same time neglect the fulfillment of the tasks of the 8th 5-year plan, where, as it was noted at the 7th session of the party's Central Committee, we cannot be satisfied with the results. Coping with the 5-year plan and preparing for the new economic mechanism are an interlinked process. Enterprises that cannot cope with the planned costs reduction and neglect scientific and technological development, the organization of work and production, intra-enterprise financial autonomy, and the utilization of the people's initiative will be confronted with great difficulties in the transfer to new economic conditions.

That is why we must pool the forces of the party, the National Front, and the entire management sphere so that the tasks of this exceptionally significant year, as well as the coming years of the 5-year plan, can be fulfilled. In this we see the significance of the initiative which was developed in honor of the 40th anniversary of the February victory and which we are praising. Altogether, as is apparent, we expect very responsible work, require great effort, persistence and resilience. We cannot do without mobilization of the forces of all the links of economic management, all the labor collektivs in production, science, research, services—simply in all sections and in all spheres. We believe firmly that our cultural and artistic front, just as in February 1948 and in the entire preceding period of the building of socialism, will also actively support, by new creative actions and involved artistic work, the effort of the CPCZ, the National Front, and the broad strata of the people in achieving the great aims of revolutionary restructuring of our society. It is a demand of the times, and I think that I can express the conviction that it will meet with full support from our citizens. It is work for the well-being of the people, for the development of our socialist society. [applause]

Comrades, all that we have achieved could have been realized only in conditions of peace. We can fulfill our bold plans only if peace is preserved. Socialism is intrinsically connected with peace, which for us represents the greatest value. There were times of sharpened international tension, as well as its moderation. All this concerned us immediately. Thanks to the persistent effort of the USSR, the other socialist countries, all the peace-loving, progressive, and realistic forces of the world, one can say that this year's anniversary of the February victory is being remembered by us in a better international atmosphere than in the previous years, in an atmosphere that is creating more favorable conditions for the development of the process of the relaxation of tension. This should be reflected also in other spheres of disarmament, strenghening security, and expanding cooperation, as is expressed in the conception of the comprehensive system of international peace and security which is being implemented by the Warsaw Pact member states.

We have welcomed sincerely the historical Soviet-U.S. treaty on doing away with intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We consider it a concrete result of implementing new political thinking in international relations, with the aim of restructuring international relations in harmony with the demands of the nuclear space age, for a hopeful beginning of practical steps toward disarmament. This treaty has a significant influence on the reduction of international tension and strengthening security, particularly in Europe, on creating trust, paving the way for further positive results.

Czechoslovakia contributed to the successful completion of the talks on the treaty by expressing agreement with carrying out the appropriate inspections on our territory. By agreeing with the USSR on withdrawing Soviet missiles from our territory prior to its ratification, we want to contribute to its speedy implementation. When looking at the present situation in the world, however,

one cannot fail to see the constant expressions of confrontation. There are apprehensions caused by the demands of certain NATO circles on modernization and upgrading in both the nuclear and conventional spheres as compensation for U.S. Euromissiles designated for liquidation, and, in particular, the constant striving to transfer the arms race into space.

We continue to encounter the intentional cultivation of the atmosphere of mistrust toward the socialist countries. Provocations such as the act carried out recently by the vessels of the U.S. Navy in the Black Sea, in the sovereign waters of the USSR, certainly do not contribute to creating the necessary trust. A truthful and principled view of the current level of development in the world, its complexity and contraditions, but also the paths of solving the existing significant problems of mankind, is contained in the address of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in the recent session of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

We indentify ourselves with this assessment and we support its basic idea: To position the equilibrium of interests and security of all peoples against the policy of force. [applause]

We attach primary importance to a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons while observing the ABM treaty over an agreed period, to a ban on and elimination of chemical weapons, and to a reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments, including the dual-purpose delivery vehicles in Europe. We hope that this year's summit meeting of the Soviet Union's and United States' representatives in Moscow, which is being prepared, will bring further concrete results, mainly in the sphere of reducing strategic offensive weapons. The basic improvement in international life is unthinkable without the just solution of the conflict situations in the world. The agreement between the governments of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan about the withdrawal of the Soviet contingents from Afghanistan, as Comrade Gorbachev reported in his recent statement, represents an example of a deeply responsible approch to their settlement. We give a high appraisal and our full support to this move of good will. However, we hope firmly that the other side will make a move forward, too.

We live in the heart of Europe, interconnected with numerous historical, cultural, economic, and national links and simultaneously at the border between the two most powerful military-political groupings and in an area oversaturated with weapons. Our priority objective is neighborliness and partnership in a common European home. This is why we are making a lasting effort at developing dialogue, especially within the framework of the Pan-European process. Its potential is beginning to take shape. With the aim of shifting further the boundaries of cooperation we are striving for the accelerated conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting by adopting a comprehensive and balanced final document. Apart from the advance in the economic and humanitarian sphere we see a priority in opening as early as this year the talks on disarmament in Europe. Both the small and the large European countries have exceptionally ample opportunities to contribute through their deeds to the consolidation of the present positive trends. All of them are responsible for peace, understanding, and the fate of our continent.

Reliable peace and security cannot be guaranteed by measures in the military sphere alone. The stimuli from the disarmament dialogue have to be used to make progress in all spheres of cooperation. We, therefore, propose to gradually set up on the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO states meet a zone of confidence and cooperation and neighborly relations. We consider that precisely these states could be an example in the broad fulfillment of the provisions of the pan-European process in their mutual and mainly in neighborly relations, that they could set out and implement in practice new ways of cooperation, too. We are understandably in favor of a comprehensive approach that will be equally directed at the military, political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian sphere. In the military sphere at issue could be a gradual creation of a kind of diluted zone [Zredene Pasmo], where the level of military confrontation would be reduced, the most dangerous kinds of offensive weapons would be eliminated, and significant measures toward confidence-building would be adopted. Such an approach is in full accordance with previously presented initiatives for nuclear and chemical weapons-free zones and has the intention of tackling various aspects of disarmament and confidence-building between groups of European states in either a pan-European or global framework.

In other spheres there also exists wide scope for the development of political dialogue, mutually advantageous cooperation, the removal of obstacles and persisting long-term problems, including ecological ones. It is necessary to overcome distorted ideas about mutual goals and plans, to broaden contacts, and to get to know each other better. In a certain stage of the working out of this initiative we propose to hold a meeting of interested countries at a political level in order to examine the possibility of strengthening trust and developing cooperation in all spheres.

In the spirit of the humanist traditions of European and world culture, noble ideals, progress, and peace, we propose to make use of the 400th anniversary of the birth of the great teacher of nations Jan Amos Komensky and hold on this occasion in Czechoslovakia an international conference on the topic, Education of the Youth in Peace. [Komensky was born on 28 March] We believe that this initiative will receive support because its implementation can serve the cause of peace and understanding among nations. [applause]

The main prerequisite for success in implementing our goals in international relations we see in the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact states, the transition to a

new quality of cooperation. Czechoslovakia will continue in the future with commitment and initiative to share in the continuing joint offensive of fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace, international security, and cooperation. [applause]

Czechoslovakia also stands firmly on the side of all nations who are fighting for their independence and freedom. It speaks against all forms of neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid. That which we are witnessing at the end of the 20th century in the South African Republic and on the Arab territories occupied by Israel is an insult to mankind. In the spirit of the foreign-political line of the 17th congress of the party, we shall continue to develop widely our cooperation in the framework of the communist, socialist and social-democratic movement with all peace-loving, progressive, and realistic forces in the world, with nations that are waging a struggle for their national, economic, and social liberation. We want to develop equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with all states. Such a policy, creating conditions for a peaceful, constructive life, corresponds fully to the aspirations and wishes of our people. [applause]

Comrades, the 40 years since the February victory have entered the period of our history as a period of great revolutionary change. From the work of millions of our people an honorable piece of work has come—it is an honorable development of the bequest of the Victorious February. The well-tested vanguard, the CPCZ, has led our people for the entire 40-year period. The time requires the party, also in the new conditions, to head the restructuring, the struggle for the new, to increase the effectiveness of its policy and activate its ranks, the activity of all party organizations. The Communist Party has an urgent task: to achieve a turn for the better in its entire work, to increase its action ability, to mobilize and inspire the people and persuade them of the correctness of its policy. Today, when we ponder again the bequest of the Victorious February, the great revolutionary struggles which the CPCZ led, heading our working class, the broad strata of working people, we are aware that its strength has always dwelt in loyalty to Marixsm-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; in its unity, cohesion, and militance; in its close link with the people. It rests on the ability to appreciate situations realistically, honestly, and frankly, not hiding anything, solving ripening problems promptly, and never losing the revolutionary perspective. The bequest of February binds us to remain loyal always to these principles and to implement them consistently.

Whenever the party and, in particular, its leadership did not follow these principles this resulted in serious difficulties and gross mistakes, the overcoming of which required enormous effort. This must be avoided.

Esteemed Comrades, esteemed guests, the February days were exciting, glorious, and heroic. Millions of our people supported the policy of the CPCZ and the restored National Front. They unanimously supported the socialist way of the development of society. Many of them are no longer among us, but their selfless work laid the firm basis of socialism in our country. We pay our respect and express our gratitude to all who were active participants in this struggle who did not and still do not spare their strength for the further glorification of our socialist homeland. [applause]

We are also convinced that the bequest of the February victory of our people will be protected and developed also by the future generations as a torch that illuminates our way forward. In the spirit of Victorious February, advance for the revolutionary restructuring of our society! [applause]

CPCZ Presidium Session Report

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[Text] At its session today the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the situation in the work on the amendment of the labor code. In this connection it made a decision to hold a public discussion on the draft of the principles of this new law amendment in the period from the second half of March until Mid-May. The amendment of the labor code belongs to the law regulations which condition the restructuring of the economic mechanism. At issue is an important social and logal document, whose objective will be further deepening of socialist democracy and strengthening of labor discipline and order in production. After the evaluation of the public discussion the draft will be discussed and approved by the Federal Assembly.

The Presidium focused attention also on the preparation of the 400th anniversary of Jan Amos Komensky's birth, which will be in 1992. It is deemed advantageous to use this important anniversary both in its domestic and foreign policy aspects. The main aim will be to link the anniversary with the improvement of the educational and upbringing process in schools of all levels, with the improvement of the work of educators work, and with various seminars and conferences. It is also recommended to use the anniversary of Jan Amos Komensky's birth for staging either an all-European or a world educators conference in Prague and for promoting his work worldwide, especially in the sphere of education aimed at peace and cooperation among peoples. The presidium also recommended the setting up of a representative Czechoslovak committee for these celebrations.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium then considered the report on the meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers on 23 February in Prague, at which Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR foreign minister reported on the course and results of Moscow' talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. It praised the Soviet Union's conduct during these talks, expressed full

support for the results achieved and welcomed the intention that the high level dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States should become regular and that it should be extended to the military sphere, too.

The Presidium was acquainted with the report on the course and the results of the visit by Algerian Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi to Czechoslovakia and also discussed a report on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the visit of Comrade Gustav Husak to Algeria in September 1986. In this connection it noted that the achieved level of political dialogue with the Algerian side is creating a suitable framework for the development of cooperation also in other spheres of mutual relations.

The Presidium also discussed an appeal by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council, for an international exchange of views and experiences of the representatives of states, political parties, and international movements on the problems of creating nuclear-free zones. The proposal is for an international meeting on this issue to be arranged on 20-22 June this year in Berlin. The Presidium fully supported this significant initiative.

Later in the proceedings the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium heard a report on the 15 February meeting of secretaries for party work in industry, in the regional and Prague and Bratislava City Party Committees. That meeting discussed the tasks arising from the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee for party economic policy, the conclusions of the assessment of the results of socioeconomic development last year, measures to provide for the implementation and fulfillment of this year's state plan, and some other topical issues.

At today's session the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also discussed an interim report on the fuel and energy situation, from which it emerged that the continuing favorable weather is still resulting in lower consumption of fuel and energy, and that supply of all types of fuel and energy is smooth without the need for consumption restrictions. Planned coal extraction is being meet in all coalfields, and since the beginning of the year up to 22 February extraction has been 349,000 tonnes, almost 2 percent above plan. The excess in coal extraction is concentrating primarily on ensuring greater output of graded coal. Favorable plan fulfillment continues in the removal of overburden in opencast mines as well as in smooth availability of additional freight cars. By 20 February coal stockpiles were some 736,000 tonnes up on last year's figure at that date.

Leaders Public Appearances 16-22 Feb

AU252141 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 17 to 23 February reports the following public appearances by CSSR leaders (date and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Zdenek Dlesk, newly appointed Czechoslovak ambassador to Nicaragua, in Prague on 16 February, in connection with the latter's taking up his post. (17 Feb p 1)

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the annual members meeting of the primary party organization in the Orion united agricultural cooperative in Davle in Central Bohemia on 16 February. (17 Feb p 2)

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the annual members meeting of the party organization in a Ceske Budejovice construction enterprise on 16 February. (17 Feb p 2) The same day Beno also inspected the building site of the Temelin nuclear power station in South Bohemia. (17 Feb p 2).

Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented the Order of Labor to the sculptor Alois Sopr in Prague on 17 February, on the occasion of the latter's 75th birthday, along with congratulatory letters from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak. (18 Feb p 1)

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a festive session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society in Prague on 17 February, held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the society's founding. (18 Feb pp 1,2)

Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, chaired a session of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Czech SR in Prague on 17 February. (18 Feb p 2)

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the annual members meeting of the primary party organization in the RUDE PRAVO editorial office in Prague on 17 February. (18 Feb p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, attended the annual members meeting of Communists on the editorial staff of the weekly NOVE SLOVO in Bratislava on 17 February. (18 Feb p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee, presented a congratulatory letter from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committe, to Hedvika Florianova, hero of socialist labor from the Fatra plant in Napajedla, in Brno on 18 February; the letter was addressed to her on the occasion of her "jubilee." (19 Feb p 1)

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a session of the North Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee in Usti nad Labem on 18 February. (19 Feb p 1)

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a ceremony honoring 37 brigades of socialist labor from the Czech SR in Prague on 18 February; the honors were presented on the occasion of the upcoming 40th anniversary of Victorious February. (19 Feb p 2)

Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, received representatives of young workers and farmers from all regions of the Czech SR in Prague on 18 February, on the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of Victorious February. (19 Feb p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, chaired a joint meeting of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Slovak SR and the Slovak Central Committee Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union in Bratislava on 18 February. (19 Feb p 2)

Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of Interior, attended a ceremony in Prague on 18 February, during which Mario Rodriguez Martinez, Cuban ambassador to the CSSR, presented to the Czech and Slovak ministers of Interior, as well as to an additional 30 officers of the Federal Ministry of Interior, commemorative medals that had been issued to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Cuban revolutionary armed forces. (19 Feb p 2)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Ignac Janak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a festive session of the Central, Czech, and Slovak Trade Union Councils on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February in Prague on 22 February. (23 Feb p 1)

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the opening of the Julius Fucik Museum in Prague on 22 February. (23 Feb pp 1,3)

Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, visited enterprises and institutions in Zvolen district on 22 February. (23 Feb p 2) The same day he also addressed a festive gathering of the Irkutsk-Pinsk division held to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Army and Navy at an unidentified location in Slovakia. (23 Feb p 2)

Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, attended the launch of the trial operation of a new production line for floating glass in the Sklotas Teplice enterprise on 22 February. (23 Feb p 2)

Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, attended festivities marking the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy in the Kremlin in Moscow on 22 February; the same day he also received, along with the other defense ministers of Warsaw Pact member countries, a commemorative medal from Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense. (23 Feb p 7)

Finland's CP Leader Aalto Pays Official Visit

Holds Talks With Honecker

LD291558 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1228 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 29 Feb (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, today received in the Central Committee Building Arvo Aalto, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, who is visiting the GDR for several days at the head of a delegation from the Finnish fraternal party.

During the meeting, which proceeded in the spirit of the traditional friendly solidarity between the SED and the SKP [Finnish Communist Party], Erich Honecker and Arvo Aalto agreed in the assessment that a change for the better is emerging in the international situation. An historic milestone had been laid down by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The possibility for disarmament has been proven in practice. This encourages all who strive to avert the threat of a nuclear inferno.

The interlocutors stressed that further progress in disarmament will not appear of its own accord. Persistent efforts continue to be required from all forces of reason and realism to overcome the resistance of those imperialist circles who still dream of military superiority and who want to nullify disarmament in one area by the large-scale modernization of other kinds of weapons.

Erich Honecker and Arvo Aalto stressed that 1988 is a significant year for the fight to liberate the world from nuclear weapons and the danger of war. An agreement was in prospect between the United States and the USSR on the 50-percent reduction in their strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM Treaty. Measures for a radical reduction in conventional forces and armaments are necessary and possible. Just as pressing is the banning of nuclear weapons testing and chemical weapons. These steps will have a positive influence on the atmosphere in the world.

The parties expressed their unreserved support for the Murmansk proposals of 1 October 1987 by Mikhail Gorbachev, the fulfillment of which would make it possible to radically reduce military confrontation and to transform the north of our planet into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The SED general secretary explained to the Finnish guests the active contribution the GDR is making within the framework of the coordinated peace policy of the socialist countries for disarmament, security, and detente in Europe. With its latest proposals to the FRG Government it supports both German states becoming nuclear weapons-free.

By carrying out an international meeting this June in Berlin, to which the representatives of the governments' Parliaments, parties, and social organizations will be invited, the GDR is making efforts to effectively support the broad movement for nuclear weapons-free zones and the complete removal of nuclear weapons.

The SKP chairman paid tribute to the far-reaching peace strategy of the alliance of socialist states. It corresponds to the vital interests of all humanity and finds broad agreement in Finland. The socialist states, by their program for disarmament and comprehensive system for international security, have brushed aside the cobwebs of the imperialist lie about the threat.

The SKP sees a significant task in working for the formation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in northern Europe, together with broad political circles. It greatly appreciates the fact that everything is being done by the GDR so the Baltic becomes a sea of peace.

The parties agreed in expressing their will to work together with socialist and social democratic parties in the interests of peace and to solve the other burning human issues.

Erich Honecker gave an extensive briefing on the meeting of the SED first district [kreis] secretaries with the Central Committee Secretariat. He stressed that the SED is in accordance with the resolutions of the 11th party congress, committedly fulfilling the course of dynamic economic growth, the unity of economic and social policy, and the further development of socialist democracy.

Arvo Aalto stressed that the Finnish Communists are working in accordance with the resolutions of their 21st party congress for the mobilization of working people against unemployment, for social security, and for the democratic right to have a say at their workplaces.

Erich Honecker and Arvo Aalto spoke in favor of deepened bilateral and multilateral exchanges of opinion between Communist and workers' parties on the basis of their independence, equal rights, and complete autonomy. They agreed to further strengthen fraternal relations between the SED and the SKP.

Taking part in the talks on the SED side was Guenter Sieber, member of the Central Committee and director of the Central Committee's International Relations Department, and from the SKP side were Jarmo Wahlstroem, Ilpo Eerola, and Rauni (Yrttiaho), members of the Central Committee.

Honecker Hosts Dinner, Gives Toast

LD291813 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 29 Feb (ADN)—Erich Honecker, the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, gave the following toast in Berlin on Monday at a dinner in honor of Arvo Aalto, the chairman of the Communist Party of Finland.

Following our valuable exchange of views this morning, I once again welcome you cordially, dear Finnish guests. The SED and the Communist Party of Finland have been linked in solidarity for decades by the joint struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress, against imperialism and reaction. Our fraternal relations are sustained by common principles and ideals, by mutual trust, respect and understanding, and by agreement on the decisive questions of the present.

Since its founding almost 70 years ago, the Communist Party of Finland has left indelible traces in the country's development. Only a few months after its fraternal Finnish party, the Communist Party of Germany was born into the revolutionary struggles of the German proletariat. At the cradle of our two parties stood victorious Red October, which brought a new epoch in the history of mankind, an epoch in which the world-changing force of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin found confirmation in practice.

GDR Communists follow with great esteem and solidarity the struggle of Finnish Communists for the social and national interests of the Finnish people. We know of the significant contribution made by the fraternal Finnish party toward the implementation of an active peace policy by Finland, a policy of friendship and cooperation with the socialist neighboring country, the Soviet Union, with the GDR, and the other socialist states.

In our talks today we have also been able to note once again that the SED and the Communist Party of Finland fully agree in the most important current questions, on which the survival of mankind depends. For example, we regard the USSR-U.S. treaty eliminating their medium- and shorter-range missiles as a historic milestone, as a great encouragement for all who constantly strive to advance the process of nuclear and conventional disarmament. After times of dangerous confrontation, unbridled arms race, and increasing international tension, a change for the better is beginning to emerge internationally.

The year 1988 will be of particular significance in the struggle for a world free from the threat of war and from weapons of mass destruction. Our two parties agree that persistent efforts are still required by all forces of reason and realism to overcome the bitter resistance by those imperialist circles that do not want to give up the dream of military superiority. The chance that now exists for progressive nuclear disarmament must not be wasted as a result of large-scale modernization in other armaments areas.

In our talks we have stressed the central significance for disarmament of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons while strictly observing the ABM treaty. In this way, a decisive change for the better in the international climate would be achieved. A ban on chemical weapons and on all nuclear weapon tests is urgently needed.

In Europe it is now necessary to extend nuclear disarmament without delay to other areas and to begin a radical reduction in conventional forces and armaments. The struggle for a nuclear weapon-free zone through Europe, extending from the north to the Balkans, is becoming increasingly topical.

The Communist Party of Finland welcomes and supports our initiative for an "international meeting for nuclear weapon-free zones" in Berlin in the summer of 1988. We are pleased about that. The SED and the Communist Party of Finland regard cooperation with all forces concerned about peace as an urgent requirement of our time. Philosophical and political differences must not be an obstacle to this.

In the nuclear and space age the debate between socialism and capitalism can only be held using peaceful means. The SED and the GDR are working actively in this spirit, firmly anchored in the socialist alliance, for an improvement in the international situation by dialogue and cooperation. It is our goal for socialist and capitalist states, particularly those who inhabit our common European house, to get on well together. The Helsinki Final Accords, in which all signatory states professed the principle of noninterference, forms a solid basis for this.

It remains an indispensible maxim of our policy to do everything so that never again will war, but only peace emanate from German soil. The GDR is developing its relations with the FRG in accordance with this in the spirit of good neighborliness, working for the reduction of confrontation and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation.

We say with satisfaction that our relations with Finland are stable and friendly. That works not only to the advantage of both our peoples, but more importantly it is significant for detente, for the international climate, and for the flourishing of cooperation in the common European house.

In today's world it is becoming increasingly clear that a strong socialism is of decisive significance for the securing of peace. By taking up its national and international responsibility, the SED, closely bound to all the people, is fulfilling the social policy resolved by its 11th party congress with its core, unity of economic policy. Thus, the further stable and dynamic development of the socialist German state at the dividing line with NATO is guaranteed, and a high material and spiritual standard of living for the people is assured.

In our understanding of it the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is a great opus of creative work, of constant pressing ahead to new solutions, building on what has been achieved and using every valuable experience. In short, it has been a process of continuous upward movement from the lower to the higher, and it serves the well-being of the people. In this we promote

the initiative of workers; we perfect socialist democracy and continue to shape our social circumstances, which allow man to be really human.

A qualitatively higher lever of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states in CEMA benefits the performance of our socialist community of states. We are convinced that the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU party congress is of great significance in terms of strengthening socialism in the USSR and its influence in the world.

In view of the magnitude of the tasks facing us Communists in the struggle for lasting peace and social progress, we rejoice all the more that the militant community between the GDR's Communists and those of Finland will be further strengthened as a result of our exchanges today.

Aalto Gives Toast

LD291826 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1354 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 29 Feb (ADN)—Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today gave a lunch in Berlin in honor of the chairman of the Finnish Communist Party, Arvo Aalto. [passage omitted]

In his toast, Arvo Aalto recalled the talks with Erich Honecker in which it was stated that in the difficult and contradictory global situation, hope was at long last now arising. The GDR had since its founding worked decisively and actively for peace. The start of the withdrawal of the medium-range missiles based on GDR territory before the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. agreement was more proof of the Soviet Union's constructive policy, and that of the GDR and other socialist states. The Finnish Communists had always supported this policy. The Finnish Communist Party welcomed with joy the call published a few days ago by the GDR's national preparation committee for an international meeting on nuclear weapon-free zones. We are convinced, Arvo Aalto said, that this meeting in June in Berlin will show that people are willing to cooperate for detente, security, disarmament, peace, and the future of humanity.

Present at the lunch were the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Horst Dohlus; Werner Felfe; Kurt Hager; Joachim Herrmann; Egon Krenz; Erich Mueckenberger; Harry Tisch; and Inge lange; as well as Guenter Sieber, head of the Central Committee's International Relations Department; and other members of the Central Committee.

Kessler Speaks at Army Anniversary Reception

LD291241 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1116 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin, 29 Feb (ADN)—The GDR's forces will continue to make their contribution to guaranteeing peace between the peoples and states at the heart of Europe and to responsibly and conscienciously increase its stability at the side of the fraternal armies. Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense stressed this today at a reception for the military and defense attaches acredited to the GDR on the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the National People's Army.

The soldiers of the socialist German state unreservedly support the fulfillment of the GDR's historic obligation never to allow war to emanate from German soil. Still more it is a question of excluding war completely from the life of people and states, the minister said. Actively working toward this humanistic goal is the main aim of our soldiers in their military tasks.

This evening, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister for national defense and head of the National People's Army main staff, will hold a reception marking the occasion for the military and defense attaches.

Marjai on USSR Goods Exchange Protocol

LD291604 Budapest MTI in English
1455 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 29 (MTI)—"The Soviet Union supports our efforts at economic stabilization and advancement, as is clearly reflected by the Hungarian-Soviet goods exchange protocol," said Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, in an interview to Monday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

He says, "The Soviet supplies are increasing in quantity, while the quantity of Hungarian deliveries, in varying measure and considering the entire structure, are decreasing in a way that turnover will come into balance, but its value will not be lower, but may even be slightly higher. In this way the Hungarian-Soviet cooperation backs up the stabilization programme of the government and improves our equilibrium conditions. The recently signed agreement has brought cooperation into harmony with the direction of our restructuring endeavours and will also ease our strained capitalist trade. In 1988 the Soviet Union is to deliver 850 million cubic metres more natural gas, 350,000 tons more coal for household use, 35,000 tons more carbamide and 7,000 more cars than last year. Adding to this will be a whole range of extra supplies lower in value separately."

Jozsef Marjai pointed out, "Simultaneously with the signing of the protocol, we started to prepare the 1988-89 accords, which is particularly important as it lays the foundations also for cooperation in the next medium-term period."

New Mixed Enterprises with USSR Viewed

AU252221 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
19 Feb 88 p 4

[MTI report: "New Hungarian-Soviet Mixed Enterprises"]

[Text] Modern forms of cooperation, mainly direct production contacts between enterprises, are playing an increasing role in further broadening the multifaceted Hungarian-Soviet relations. This fact is supported by the already established mixed enterprises, and by those that are currently being established. By means of these enterprises, producers from the two countries are able to establish close economic relations with each other; and their interest in their successful cooperation also increases in proportion to the capital invested in the enterprise. So far, four Hungarian-Soviet mixed enterprises have been established in Hungary, and five in the Soviet Union; three of which are already functional.

The first such enterprise is Mikromed Ltd. in Esztergom. It was established by the Medikor Works and the Soviet All-Union Medical and Medical Technical Information Scientific Research Institute, and it produces and markets medical and other electronic installations. The Hungarian Microelectronical Enterprise and the Soviet Scientific Center for Technological Development and Production established a mixed enterprise called Intermos Ltd. which began producing integrated circuits. Littara Volanpack, which is the first mixed enterprise located in the Soviet Union and which was established by the Lithuanian firm Littara and the Hungarian firm Volanpack, produces wood-based packing materials.

Further enterprises, six of which were already established in 1987, will begin operations in 1988. The Hungarian firm Mahir and the Soviet firm Soyuztorgreklama established a mixed advertising enterprise called Tisza, which is located in Moscow. The Hungarian enterprises Ferunion and Granit, and the Soviet Stankoimport Foreign Trade Association and the Vniialmaz Scientific Production Association established Diamond and Tool-Marketing Ltd. in Budapest. The Energotechno mixed enterprise that was established by the High Temperatures Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and eight Hungarian enterprises and institutes is undertaking the development of high-technology, power engineering installations. Temaforg established two mixed enterprises in the Soviet Union to make use of textile and chemical industry wastes and produce so-called unwoven materials. An enterprise belonging to Agker Ltd. that was established together with the Agricultural Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, will deal with improving early- and average-ripening maize hybrids.

An additional four or five enterprises are expected to be established in 1988. Officials at the ministries of Trade and of Finance said that advanced negotiations are under way on establishing several additional mixed enterprises, both in Hungary and the Soviet Union. Among other enterprises, the Machine Tool Works, the Labor Magnesite Industry Works, and the Trakis Cooperative are interested in new ventures. In the long term, experts reckon on the possibility of annually establishing 5-10 additional Hungarian-Soviet mixed enterprises in both Hungary and the Soviet Union. The development of cooperation is hindered by the fact that Hungarian enterprises are less familiar with Soviet producers, since they maintain relations mainly with Soviet foreign trade firms. Today, this lack of information seriously hinders the faster propagation of mixed ventures.

Trade, Payments Protocol Signed in Beijing

LD291441 Budapest MTI in English
1347 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Beijing, February 29 (MTI)—The 1988 Hungarian-Chinese trade and payments protocol has been signed in Beijing by Janos Ambrus, Hungarian deputy minister of trade, and Lu Hsuechien, Chinese deputy minister of

external economy and foreign trade. The envisaged turnover of 540 million clearing Swiss francs corresponds to this year's target of the long-term goods exchange agreement and allows for higher Hungarian exports than last year.

Hungary will mainly supply agricultural and food industrial machinery, machine tools, harbour equipment, buses, energetic facilities, metallurgical products, cables and fertilizers.

Major Chinese export commodities include light industrial consumer goods, canned food, agricultural and industrial raw materials and a variety of engineering goods.

National Assembly, NATO Delegation Talks Open

LD291133 Budapest MTI in English
1058 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 29 (MTI)—Talks between the delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, the Joint Parliament of the NATO member states, and the Hungarian negotiating group opened in Budapest parliament Monday, with Ton Frinking, president of the North Atlantic Assembly, and Janos Peter, vice-president of the Hungarian National Assembly, heading the delegations.

The delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly is paying an official visit to Budapest on the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly.

Communique on Nemeth's Visit to FRG

LD291503 Budapest MTI in English
2107 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Bonn, February 26 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, paid a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany from February 23. Miklos Nemeth met Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and held talks with minister-presidents Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria and Lothar Spaeth of Baden-Wurttemberg, Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman in Bundestag of the Free Democratic Party, Wolfgang Roth, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Party of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Hans Klein, federal minister for economic cooperation, Horst Teltschik, head of department at the Office of the Chancellor, and Dr Otto Schlecht, state secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economics.

Miklos Nemeth met Dr Siegfried Mann, director-general of the Federation of German Industry, Dr Helmut Schlesinger, vice-president of Deutsche Bundesbank, and other senior representatives of the political, economic and financial life of the FRG.

In cordial talks the parties exchanged views on topical issues of East-West relations and bilateral cooperation. Special emphasis was laid on the deepening of bilateral economic cooperation.

The parties discussed in detail the development of direct inter-company relations and the involvement of West German working capital in Hungary. It was established that, relying on former achievements in cooperation and on the basis of reciprocal interests, there are further opportunities for expanding relations.

Miklos Nemeth informed his hosts on the implementation of the programme of stabilization, the related tasks, and the planned steps aimed at further developing the system of economic management.

Changes in W. Berlin Travel Permits Previewed

LD292028 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Important news for those wanting to travel to West Berlin. Our Berlin correspondent reports:

[Correspondent] Hungarian tourists wishing to travel to West Berlin from the capital of the GDR will need fewer documents. As of 1 March the special permit which up to now had to be obtained at the Hungarian consulate in Berlin is to be abolished. The simplification was requested by the Hungarian side in view of the fact that as a result of the new passport regulations the number of Hungarians traveling to West Berlin is set to increase.

So from now it will be possible to reach West Berlin from the GDR with a passport valid for travel to the West, without the need for a special permit. So it will not be necessary to visit the Hungarian consulate beforehand.

The same applies to those travelling on a service passport, but special regulations will continue to apply to holders of diplomatic passports and other envoys, and Hungarians residing in the GDR or working here for a longer period also fall into a different category.

Tourists must not forget, of course, that West Berlin is considered part of the West in that Hungarian regulations require tourists to obtain 3,000 forints' worth of foreign currency before the journey.

Varkonyi, Delegation Meet Indian President

LD291610 Budapest MTI in English
1510 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] New Delhi, February 29 (MTI)—On Monday Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently on an official visit in India, met in New Delhi President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma. Present at the courtesy visit was Jazsef Olah, Hungarian ambassador to India.

The Monday programme of Peter Varkonyi started with a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial cremation place of Mahatma Gandhi, the outstanding historic personality of India. The official talks began afterwards.

First Peter Varkonyi held a private meeting with Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs, and then continued their talks in the presence of experts. One of the central themes of talks was bilateral relations: as the relationship of the two countries is not ridden with disputed political affairs, attention was focused on the expansion of cooperation based on mutual interests. There was agreement that the continuity of high-level personal political contacts has to be ensured. Both sides attached particular importance to the intensification of economic and trade cooperation, noting with satisfaction that last year's value of Hungarian-Indian goods exchange surpassed the 100-million-dollar mark. The international and regional questions discussed included general issues of security, the system of East-West relations and developments in the settlement of the Afghanistan and Kampuchea issues.

The parties shared the view that the regional hotbeds of crisis, in the solution of which India plays an active part, have to be ironed out through negotiations. The Indian party gave a briefing on its relations with the neighbour countries.

After the foreign affairs talks, Peter Varkonyi visited Minister of Defence Krishna Chandra Pant at his office.

It is indicative of the traditionally friendly Hungarian-Indian relations that the local press provides wide coverage to the foreign ministerial visit. For instance, "NATIONAL HERALD", India's governing National Congress (i) Party, [as received] made the rare gesture of carrying two full-page review on Hungary in its Sunday edition. Several newspapers published the interview given by Peter Varkonyi to the PTI News Agency, and the "LINK" Periodical devoted an article to the international activity of Hungary.

Agreement With SFRY on Drava River Use

LD281723 Budapest MTI in English
1528 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—A Hungarian water management delegation, led by Laszlo Marothy, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and minister of environmental protection and water management, held talks in Yugoslavia on February 26-27, and signed an agreement in Zagreb for the complex utilization of the Drava River's joint Hungarian-Yugoslav section. Under the agreement, a detailed plan will be worked out that alike serves the economic, political and technical interests of the two countries for the joint utilization of the river's Hungarian-Yugoslav section.

Marjai Receives Afghan Deputy Premier

LD292203 Budapest MTI in English
1826 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 29 (MTI)—An economic and commercial delegation headed by Sayed 'Amanuddin Amin, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, arrived in Hungary on Monday at the invitation of Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

On Monday Jozsef Marjai and Sayyed Amin and the experts and enterprise representatives of the two sides started talks on the topical issues of bilateral economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

Trade Union Council Stance on Opposition

LD291839 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] The Presidium of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] supports the establishment of independent sections for individual professions within the trade unions. At the same time, it firmly rejects the intentions of those attempting to set up organizations opposed to the movement.

This, among other things, is contained in the stance approved by the body last Friday which has now been made public. The SZOT Presidium formulated its firm stance, because as the document states, a narrow group is endeavoring to break up the unity of trade unions. Certain individuals and groups—not named in the stance—are using the problems which undoubtedly exist to put the trade unions in the dock for every conflict in the functioning of the economy and the political systems. These endeavors are not free of ulterior political motives either, states the document, and the Szot Presidium firmly rejects all of these attempts in the same way it rejects unfounded incitement. [hangulatkeltes].

According to the stance, the trade unions have spoken up on numerous occasions for the solving of existing problems, as in the case of prices and employment. They have also made efforts to carry out the renewal in content and organization of trade union activities, although the SZOT Presidium also considers the membership's criticism in connection with the representation and protection of interests justified. But the causes of this must also be sought outside the movement's activities, states the SZOT stance.

According to the document, the trade unions are spending the most energy to lighten the burden of those making the greatest sacrifice: workers, intellectuals, graduates, large families, and pensioners, even if the economy, grappling with the difficulties of stabilization, cannot provide the necessary material means.

In its stance, the SZOT presidium expresses its conviction that this stance is supported by the overwhelming majority of trade union members.

Further on Opposition

LD292039 Budapest MTI in English 1855 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 29 (MTI)—The February 26 statement of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) on the topical issues of the trade union movement was published on Monday.

The statement recalls that the February 19 session of the SZOT and the document it published "received a fundamentally positive response among a wide range of people. Everything formulated with regard to prices, the handling of employment problems, the more efficient safeguarding of interests, and the conceptual and organizational renewal of trade union work met the approval of the majority of members."

The SZOT Presidium is aware, the statement stresses, that "the justified criticism of members towards the trade union organs has strengthened. The reasons should partly be sought for outside the movement. The trade unions are familiar with the just demands of their members and make efforts to facilitate the situation of people bearing the greatest burdens including workers, professionals, young people starting their career, people with a large family and pensioners, even if the economy facing the difficulties of stabilization cannot provide the financial conditions.

"All this does not and cannot mean that the trade unions remain silent since they are aware of the most fundamental problems and tensions and have an opinion on a possible solution."

"These efforts, however, failed to yield appropriate results in some fields so it is quite obvious that our members seek for better organizational frames and conditions to improve our work in the safeguarding and representation of interests and call for changes in several fields," the statement stresses, adding that the SZOT Presidium agrees with these aspirations and it is open to, and supports, all well-intentioned endeavours aimed at improving the organization and content of trade union work. It supports the more marked organization of trades and groups of trades within the trade unions and holds it possible for the sections being organized within the sectoral trade unions and for other organizational forms to establish inter-sectoral relations to represent interests. The Presidium considers it justified that the groups of people with identical interests should have an opportunity to express their endeavours within the basic organization.

The statement stresses:

"In recent times we have come to some new phenomena which made it necessary for the SZOT Presidium to issue the statement. A limited group has expressed its intention to destroy the unity of trade unions and set up organizations outside the movement.

"Some persons and groups, which are also motivated by ill-willed political considerations, make use of the undoubtedly existing problems, for the solution of which the trade unions took a stand on several occasions, to blame the trade unions for all conflicts in the economy and the system of political institutions.

"The SZOT presidium requires that both its members and the general public evaluate its work objectively, including just criticism. At the same time it resolutely refuses the unfounded instigations and the intentions of those who make an attempt to set up organizations opposing the trade union movement."

In conclusion the SZOT Presidium expresses the conviction that the overwhelming majority of members would support its position expressed in the statement.

SZOT's Nagy on Employment, Interest Safeguards

AU291421 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Feb 88 p 5

[Interview with SZOT Secretary Sandor Nagy by correspondent Ivan Ersek: "With Whom Should We Declare Our Solidarity—Sandor Nagy on Employment, Wage Proportions, and Safeguarding of Interests"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Ersek] In your opinion, what is the primary task of the trade unions in the inevitable situation when many jobs become insecure? I said inevitable, because it has become clear to both trade union members and leaders that it is impossible to get the country out of this mess when the production and economic structures remain unchanged.

[Nagy] Since the majority of the people concerned are not to be blamed for this situation, the price for it should not be paid by the iron worker in Borsod or the miner in Tatabanya. All society must bear the burden of the consequences. In spite of everything, I am for an active employment policy, and not for an employment policy that, after the event, tries to soften the unpleasant effects by taking various measures. Of course without such measures, things will not advance, because the people who lost their jobs and their families cannot be left, even temporarily, in financial insecurity this would lead to unforeseeable consequences, even from purely economic considerations. It is, however, more important to prevent tensions in employment. Therefore, employment interests must be considered in investment decisions, in

retraining and in shaping and restructuring the system of our institutions. The social assistance network should encourage the individual to do his best to start working again. [passage omitted]

[Ersek] Retraining is using up money today not only from enterprises but also from the budget when there are not enough funds for other uses either.

[Nagy] We want everyone to regard the training of personnel as an investment, which it really is. As an investment of course, it will bring results only later, while we have to make sacrifices for this now. The trade unions must also set an example by contributing—when necessary—in their own way to supporting retraining and further training of personnel, for example, by supplying educational facilities and funds.

[Ersek] The issue of trade union solidarity appears in a different light in workplaces where some of the workers are fired as a result of rationalization. The wages thus saved are mainly used for improving the wages of the remaining personnel. With whom should now the organized workers not feel solidarity?

[Nagy] Previously, a simultaneous discussion of the issue of the workers employment safety and of the issue of preserving their income level occurred very rarely, if at all. It is difficult for an enterprise trade union to provide answers to these questions. It follows from this, among other things, that we must not leave the enterprises on their own to cope with this dilemma. We must assist them in finding solutions, and we must also use external measures, for example, by promoting adequate manpower mobility. [passage omitted]

[Ersek] However, restructuring and subsequent manpower mobility are urgently needed. But, when the trade unions state their own positions, many economic leaders blame them for being an obstacle to modernization.

[Nagy] I do not find this unnatural. Economic leaders work out a program that they think will advance the economy, and the trade unions contrast it with the workers interests. A compromise then emerges from this confrontation, a compromise road that makes it possible for us to advance, however, slower than the leaders thought. But the axiom in geometry according to which a straight line is the shortest way between two points is not valid in social, economic, and political issues. Here, the shortest way is the possible way.

MSZMP's Lukacs on Ideological Work

AU291305 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Feb 88 p 5

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs by correspondent Denes Maros: "On Lessons Drawn During Debates"—date and place not given]

[Text] In recent weeks party members have been debating proposals on ideological work, the leading role of the party, and modernization of political institutions. When party membership cards were modified, every party member expressed his opinions on party policy, on the social and economic situation, and the development program. In addition, party organizations have figured out their share in the implementation of this year's economic tasks, their participation in organizing workers meetings, held party days, and made preparations for the annual report general meeting. The broadest exchange of views in recent years has been and is still underway in the party. We asked Janos Lukacs about this wide-scale exchange of views.

[Maros] The beginning of this year imposed an extremely heavy burden on the party organizations and the party members. It is no secret that scepticism was expressed here and there; how do the party members who are very burdened with daily tasks and problems react to the time and energy-demanding challenge?

[Lukacs] Experience has, after all, proved these anxieties wrong, at least concerning the question whether we can expect something from this rather short consultation period. It has been proven again this time, that the party organizations are capable of action and thus a genuine exchange of views has developed in the party movement. The party organizations should be praised for the organization and the summing up the experiences, and the party members for their activity. We received a multitude of important observations and proposals. If we only consider the fact that by means of these observations and proposals, it is possible to genuinely complement the documents submitted for debate and that these have already been of use in the preparations for the Central Committee meeting and the party conference, then this exchange of views has already fulfilled its role. But the debate provided more than that.

Through the debate, I think, we received an even more precise and reliable picture on the mood, concepts, and opinions of the party members. The debates were characterized by an honest and critical tone, by a feeling of responsibility, and, almost everywhere, by a readiness and willingness to act, and a supportive attitude. However, I cannot keep it secret either that there was tough criticism in many places of the content of both documents submitted for debates—primarily some of the conclusions and proposals, and crudeness of them. Nor will I keep it secret that much criticism was directed at the higher echelons of the party in connection with its evaluation of the situation and the reasons behind this. One can see that the observations also convey public opinion, nor was the exchange of views itself limited to the party members, partly because this debate received publicity in the press, television, and the radio, and partly because the party members also expressed the opinions of the people around them.

[Maros] A recurring question during the exchange of views was whether these observations would reach the leading organs of the party without polishing or cosmetics.

[Lukacs] Yes, they have reached the leading organs of the party. Very harshly formulated opinions are also included in the summaries and conclusions sent to the Central Committee by the county party committees. The address is indeed the Central Committee, but let me add that for a long time we have been able to draw a lot from these proposals, at all the levels of party life, together with district and local party organizations. The debate, of course, has not ended yet. It will continue intensely up to and beyond the national party conference, because regular self-analysis and the necessary corrections are indispensable requirements for implementing a policy and of carrying out constant renewal. Renewal of party activity, ideology, and of the system of political institutions as a condition for our social and economic development is now the order of the day. The propositions clearly indicate our intention of preparing for comprehensive and essential changing.

[Maros] The reason for this activity is, no doubt, the fact that except for preparations for various congresses, this was the first time that the party members were able to express their opinions prior to the formulation of decisions. According to the proposals, this will be the desired practice in future. However, the fact that the time allocated for the debate was too short was criticized everywhere. Why?

[Lukacs] There were even tougher formulations: it seems as if the party leadership were confused and did not give sufficient time to evaluate the opinions. But we should also take into consideration that in December 1987, the Central Committee decided to convene a national party conference in the first half of this year precisely to review the current issues of socialist construction and to provide answers and institute changes as soon as possible. This, in itself, has accelerated the pace of work.

It is also a fact that many things have occurred on the initiative of the party in the past 1 or 2 years. Ideological issues were discussed at the conference in Szeged, a debate was held on party democracy, changes took place in the activity of the National Assembly, government activity was updated, a number of associations were established to express and represent the interests of various strata of society; in other words, changes began to occur.

We asked for the opinion of the party members on the tasks of comprehensive modernization and we asked for their participation in reorganizing the political mechanism—and all this at a time that is filled with the complex tasks ahead. This is the first time in the history of our party that such a broad debate has been held on this issue. The party members did not simply accept the appeal with understanding, they were also engaged in politics in a mature way. Our intention to be a party that is actively engaged in politics and to strengthen our party's nature as a movement was the perceptible characteristic of these debates. Personal discussions prompted the members to rethink their concepts about the party and about what the party requires from its members. The proposals contributed to the collective thinking by dealing with issues concerning the party ideology, its conceptual system, and the updating of the political leadership. This time the party forums did not deal primarily with local and daily problems. At the debates, the elementary force with which the demand to being well informed was asserted—so that party members could influence policy—represents a very important lesson. Although it was not directly demanded, by means of the proposals we received indications about the need for a thorough analysis of the situation. Throughout the whole course of the debate the participants urged to have a precise presentation of the reality, a presentation of the reasons, and a clarification of responsibility, in other words, for a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. Obviously, it is the Central Committee and the party conference that will have to provide the answers.

The party members are also united in their opinion that there is a need for a change in party life, in the political mechanism, the economy, society, and in our attitude. The essence and goal of the aforementioned change are, of course, to see to it that socialist society, the party, the state, the economy, culture, and science operate more effectively, and the destiny of each individual and of the country as a whole develop more favorably. It is generally recognized that we cannot advance in the old way.

[Maros] What should be the form and direction of the aforementioned changes?

[Lukacs] The answers are uniform in recognizing that we need radical decisions and actions, rather than patches and small adjustments. The essence of the required actions is that we have to reevaluate the party's role and the style of party guidance, so that this increasingly becomes guidance by political means and avoids operational interference. Another requirement that is closely related to this is that we must broaden party democracy. We must listen to and take into consideration the opinions of various levels of party organs and, sometimes, the opinions of all the party members prior to every major central decision. This practice of preparing decisions requires that we tolerate and be able to handle different opinions too. The proposals include the principles of this practice.

[Maros] Do these proposals also include a guarantee for the implementation of these principles?

[Lukacs] Yes, they do; for example, by the fact that the work program of party organizations must include the issues in which the opinion of the party members is required; the fact that minority opinion can be expressed and repeatedly debated; and, if practical experience justifies it, the responsible party organs will modify the valid party decisions at the initiative of the party members and the party organizations.

Here we are talking about the need for the party members to genuinely participate in shaping policy. It is far from surprising that the following questions have emerged during the debate: What do we mean by party? What does the party policy contain? Whose will is represented in the party policy? The answer to these questions is, of course, that the party is the sum total of its members, and its policy reflects the will of the party members and of the bodies that represent those members. However, these questions cannot be dealt with so simply, because it transpires from these questions that, sometimes, it is the party apparatus that seems to represent the intentions, and this conception is wrong.

It is certain that the broad masses of party members demand closer contacts between leaders and the masses, and between the party leadership and the party members. They require a better knowledge and understanding of the type of problems facing the leadership.

The party members want to actively participate in solving these problems and in shaping the destiny of our country. They are demanding a genuine debate on major social and policy issues within party organizations too, a debate that will indeed provide information and which will be a real opportunity for participation in the affairs of the country.

Reorganization of the election system within the party, of the system of selecting the cadres, as well as the widening of the rotation system is also an essential element of this practice, and this is included in the proposals.

[Maros] Almost every issue was widely covered during the debate on the proposals, and the exchange of views seemed sometimes to swamp everything, presumably because of the lack of a steady dialogue.

[Lukacs] This drew attention to our failures, to the fact that, for years, the task of the basic party organizations has been to explain and adjust to decisions. The proposals also express our intention to hold regular debates, and we regard a steady political dialogue as the essence of party work. Beyond its political importance, mature debate can lead to a situation in which the debate does not slow down and hinder the decisionmaking and implementation processes. If there are debates only once in a while, then the dialogue has to start at the beginning on almost every issue. It situation is different if the party members are regularly briefed on the prevailing social and political issues. In a permanent and lively debate, the leadership can also predict more accurately the reactions of the public opinion and the positions that take shape and play a decisive role. Consistent debate is important not only for mutual understanding and agreement and the predictability of a possible consensus, but also because it offers a large scope for initiatives coming from below and enables the party members' ideas and efforts to rise to the national level.

[Maros] One of the conditions for broadening party democracy is to give the party organizations greater independence and, reduce bureaucracy and the number of central regulations.

[Lukacs] The planned changes include these conditions too. They include independence, and even autonomy in certain issues for the various levels of party organs and organizations. The basic party organizations will be able to elect their leaders, the basic organization secretaries, without having to ask the guiding party organ for either preliminary opinion or confirmation. If we can jointly formulate the tasks—and this exchange of views proves that it is possible—then we can and must leave it to the lower organs and party organizations to select the way and methods for solutions.

[Maros] A clear-cut definition of the tasks and responsibilities is an essential point in the modernization of political institutions. What lessons can be drawn in this respect from the debate on the propositions?

[Lukacs] I can mention here not only the experiences of the debate but also the acceptance of the changing practice. The role, division of labor, responsibility, and system of relations between the party and state organs, of the party and public bodies, and of the government and the public bodies are being outlined with increasing accuracy. In other words, interests of society are also increasingly shown in institutional form; areas of interest and confrontation are emerging. An important requirement is that the party and public organs work as equal partners in preparing political decisions.

[Maros] The citizens are, no doubt, interested in knowing how to express and assert their interests in this strongly divided society, and who their representatives are and how the system works.

[Lukacs] The measures taken in recent years have partly strengthened and increased the citizens' rights. Changing the Constitution and making laws on associations, on the conditions for a referendum, on the trade unions, on the councils, and so on, are an institutional guarantee of this process, and the proposals include all these. Conditions should be created in which state administration decisions can be attacked in a public administration court if these decisions are harmful to the citizens; and the independence of public organizations is among the aforementioned guarantees. Besides, many people suggested during the debate to generalize the system of appointments limited to two periods, and to include also the state positions in this system.

One can observe from this description of the tasks that there are still many things still missing for modernizing the system of political institutions, and that conditions and regulations cannot be formulated overnight; the debates, however, clearly prove the accuracy of the principles in the proposals.

[Maros] Individual discussions and exchanges of views on the proposals often criticized the delays.

[Lukacs] More precisely, many people are questioning the pace at which changes are carried out, and they do it in a contradictory way, claiming that there are too few or too many changes. Both claims are justified. There are too few changes compared to the number of necessary changes and to the changes that are included in the proposals as tasks. We must, therefore, accelerate this pace. On the other hand, however, many people find it difficult to accept many changes taking place, for example, in the economy, like the tax system, the rehabilitation and liquidation of inefficient enterprises, employment problems, the "welfare state" generally losing ground, and ventures and risks gaining ground. In a different guise, but essentially for the same reasons, these dilemmas and contradictions emerge from time to time in the debates on the ideological proposals. It often happens that one who generally agrees with the reform is unable to identify with the practical reform measures. This is understandable, because one or another solution has an unfavorable effect on him. In other words, we have not yet developed an attitude which accepts the conditions for reform and the requirements of reform.

We are facing changes that do not lead to immediate results in production and in the creation of values, and subsequently, in our standard of living and in our living conditions. We are also aware that confidence in our policy and in the party is indispensable for our social and economic renewal. If various measures and intentions are not understood and we have no confidence in them, then our efforts are doomed to fail. In the current exchange of views, the party members expressed their confidence, but this confidence is fragile and has decreased in recent years; therefore, we must work hard to restore and maintain this confidence.

Foreign circumstances—the changes under way in the socialist countries and the easing of international political tensions—are favorable but they will not solve our tasks in our stead. Much has been said—and rightly—about the situation and about the need to make a thorough analysis; but let me add that there are possibilities for action in every situation and within every level and area. We would make a great mistake if, while preparing to implement radical decisions, we paid less attention to everyday tasks and delayed decisions and actions concerning issues which it is now time to solve.

[Maros] Does the modernization of ideological work and of the system of political institutions lead to a qualitative change in party work?

[Lukacs] It is difficult to see the meaning of the attribute "qualitative" in this context. Proposals were also formulated along the lines: "We need qualitative changes now!" But what is the other quality made of? [sentence as published] The dialectics of change and continuity are present today too. The stress is on change, but not everything will change. These changes are made up of concrete elements and provide answers to concrete questions. Of course, some kind of new quality will eventually emerge from the numerous new elements and the remaining values, as well as from the still valid principles and correct practices.

Preparing for their decisions that are aimed at bringing about changes, the Central Committee and the political leadership rely on the Central Committee decisions of November 1986 and July 1987, namely, that management must also renew itself in order to bring about a general renewal. The exchanges of views held in recent weeks also oblige us to accept this responsibility.

Welfare, Health Minister on Social Debate

LD291528 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Excerpts] A social policy debate was organized by the students of the University of Medicine and the University of Technology. Krisztina Antalffy interviewed Judit Csehak, minister of social welfare and health during the break in the debate.

[Begin recording] [Antalffy] You chose two questions raised by the students: that goodwill is not enough, money and intelligence are also needed, and that the existing resources can also be the basis of successful social policy.

[Csehak] I chose those two because I felt that they could be contrasted with one another and could provide food for further thought. I believe that good social policy requires more than money, it really needs intelligence and goodwill as well. I find it fundamentally important that social policy should be carried out by people and particularly communities. [passage omitted elaborating on same]

[Antalffy] It is difficult to single out just one topic. Nonetheless, I would like to mention unemployment among the issues raised here today.

[Csehak] Yes, this is understandable, after all, these are young people and if I were a student or a professional at the beginning of my career, this is what would occupy me to the greatest extent as well, that is, whether I can obtain work, the guarantee of fundamental security. Unemployment concerns them and us very greatly because we are aware that a changing economy can be created only with changes in employment, and yet we are very attached to job security. This is a new phenomenon, a new fear, which must concern those who do not feel it in their own lives, who are not threatened by it. Thus, I think that social policy must aim at the maximum possible job security—this does not mean guaranteeing a particular job but ensuring to the greatest possible extent the chance for meaningful employment.

[Antalffy] This debate was organized by members of the Communist Youth League. The place, tasks, and possibilities of the churches was one topic raised.

[Csehak] I think that this is quite understandable. We grew up at a time when it was thought that the communist movement would be able to solve all human problems by itself. We have to recognize that we are not able, and not even fully suited, to carry out such a heavy, wide social task if we exclude people, if we exclude people who regard human helpfulness, solidarity, and small community support important because of their religious convictions. Thus it is better to recognize, in a self-critical spirit, in public, that we cannot forego the help of religious people and of the churches either

Briefs

Joint Economic Cooperation

Algiers, February 29(MTI)—A Hungarian delegation headed by Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Algerian Joint Inter-Governmental Committee for Economic Cooperation, paid an official visit to Algeria from February 26 to 29. Jeno Vancsa met Abdelhamid Brahimi, Prime Minister Jeno Vancsa held talks on the topical issues of Hungarian-Algerian economic relations and the topical issues of agricultural cooperation with Mohamed Rouighi, minister of agriculture, Ahmed Benfreha, minister of hydraulics, forestry and fisheries and the Algerian co-chairman of the joint inter-governmental committee, and Ministers Mohamed Cherifi of commerce, Kasdi Merbah of health and Abdelaziz Khellef of finance. [Text] [*Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 29 Mar 88 LD*]

Cooperation With USSR

Budapest, February 25(MTI)—The Ganz Electric Works of Hungary and the Leningrad Elektrosila Company concluded a cooperation agreement Thursday in Budapest. Under its terms, the machined rotary parts of Ganz turbogenerators will be made in the Soviet Union in the future, its production is to be discontinued in Budapest and the technology will be transferred. Ganz will take over the production of certain components, with the related technology transferred from Leningrad. This division of labour will contribute to more economic production at both companies. The partners have also agreed to mutually deliver turbogenerator units worth more than 1,700 million roubles in the first year, 1988, of the long-term cooperation. [Excerpt] [*Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 25 Feb LD*]

Solidarity Pledges To Defy Police Repression

AU291552 Paris AFP in English
1547 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 29 (AFP)—The Polish opposition will go on fighting for trade union and political pluralism despite renewed police repression marked by arrests and harassment, the national leadership of Solidarity said Monday.

The communique followed the arrest on Sunday of nine Polish opposition figures as they headed for a rally at which it was planned to found a new political movement, the Polish Farmworkers' Party (PSL).

A week earlier, several members of the Solidarity National Executive Council (KKW) were arrested and held for 24 hours as they prepared to attend a meeting in Gdansk on February 21.

However the KKW said that despite police pressure, the Solidarity Executive Council had managed to meet secretly "in the last days of February".

The PSL founding was to have been held at Juszczyn, 40 kilometers (25 miles) south of Krakow but a strong police contingent was deployed to prevent the meeting taking place.

The nine, who were detained for several hours included several former members of Rural-Solidarity, the agricultural branch of the banned Solidarity union.

Before World War II, the PSL existed as a right-leaning independent party for agricultural workers but in 1947 it was merged into the official political structure. Several attempts have been made to revive it since.

The KKW, in its statement said that "for some months, the authorities and the police have tried to paralyse all independent initiatives in the economic and social fields."

It said Poland could only be salvaged from its "disastrous situation" by "trade union, social, economic and political pluralism".

Citing economic surveys, the KKW said the reforms promised by the government as a sweetener for hefty price increases "have not been implemented".

It said higher prices had "brought down Poles' living standards. The worst-off are nearly on the poverty line."

KKW said the government's claim that there were no political prisoners in Poland was "a lie". There were "at least 22"—eleven jailed officially for common-law offences but in fact for dissident activities and eleven pacifists imprisoned for "refusing to do military service".

PAP Says AFP 'Propagating' Church Incidents

LD292027 Warsaw PAP in English
1728 GMT 29 Feb 88

["AFP and a Little Truth Between Lines"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 29—Monthly masses "for motherland" said at the St Stanislaw Kostka church here have already been sufficiently propagated by Western mass media. In tens of dispatches on the very same small incidents caused by extremist small groups of political opponents, who chose this church as a place for their shows, Western mass media dwelt extensively on massive and spontaneous participation of Warsaw residents in demonstrations in front of the church.

Jean-Eudes Barbier of the AFP was probably guided by a similar intention. He describes the course of a monthly demonstration in his dispatch dated February 29 from here. The "scenario is constantly the same," writes the French journalist and one can hardly disagree with him when he writes about a small group of demonstrators who after the mass start a short march towards members of the law enforcement organs standing nearby, and about the faithful who want to leave the place. No less true is a report on several dozen persons who do not respond to the militia's calls to disperse and revile them. "Usually, nobody is detained," "The identity of several persons is checked," writes the French journalist at the end of his report.

From the crowd of the faithful to several checked persons, finally one of the Western journalists presented proper proportions of these "demonstrations". Their organizers are these for whom a religious ceremony, patriotic slogans and noble appeals are only seeking a pretext for a row.

Railway Repair Workers Stop Work Over Pay

LD292303 Warsaw PAP in English
2223 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Wroclaw, Feb. 29—Nearly 3-thousand-strong crew of a railway repair plant here stopped work for several hours today.

Wojciech Zmyslony, the plant's general director told PAP the stoppage occurred because workers were dissatisfied with the scale of bonuses they had obtained after profit was distributed among the crew.

Work ceased in practically every plant workshop after lunch break. However, order was maintained and a delegation of workers opened negotiations with the plant's management. The talks ended at noon and by 12:30 work was resumed.

As director Zmyslony said, during the negotiations the plant's management acknowledged the crew's criticism of present regulations on bonus distribution and pledged to amend the system in accordance with workers' postulates.

Naturally, the amendments will hold for future, 1989 worked-out profit bonuses.

Church Activities in Scouting Scored

AU010813 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Feb 88 p 4

[Kazimierz Kozniewski article: "Double Demoralization"]

[Excerpts] Early in the fall of 1987 the Polish Episcopate published a long document appealing to the faithful to participate most actively in the creative life of the country and the people and to engage in civic cooperation to create the values that are the foundations of our state and of every modern state in Europe. It is a most positive document.

It is obvious that educational processes play the basic role in developing society and state.

Since 1981 we have witnessed certain activities (certain pastoral organizations, for example), not infrequently sponsored or authorized by the Catholic Church bodies, which are bound to create educational and moral reservations. I have in mind the purposeful organization of double ideological upbringing and the planned provocation of upbringing and ideological controversies and conflicts, the long-term results of which, as can easily be imagined, will be decisively harmful, because internally contradictory, double-tiered, and inconsistent upbringing, which requires double thinking, induces young people to assume hypocritical, opportunist, and double-tongued attitudes. Each wise educator knows that the upbringing process that promotes two contradictory values and that is practiced within the same system and the same organization can produce the worst moral damage. I have here scouting in mind. [passage omitted]

Since 1981 the Polish Scout Union—some of its platoons and companies—have been the place of double upbringing of young people. Some bishops have established in them so-called pastoral units, which engage in most definite activities and try to establish some kind of bridgeheads of different upbringing and ideological methods in many platoons and companies, to promote a different ideological dependence, and to create other goals than those binding on the entire union. Although this activity is not very extensive and has involved only a small percentage of boys and girls, it is symptomatically disturbing as a dangerous and demoralizing practice of upbringing, because it promotes other programs and activities and uses different texts of the scout oath of allegiance and of the scout law than those binding on the union. Individual platoons continue to be used for services (order-keeping duties during the papal visit, for example) that are in conflict with the lay educational principles of the entire union. [passage omitted]

The Catholic Church in Poland has every opportunity to avoid all equivocal and deceitful methods, stealthy approaches, and double games in its upbringing and religious work. It can openly pursue its upbringing work in churches and parishes. It should not create formally deceitful and educationally damaging situations because they always induce someone to tell a lie. The church should not help create opportunists and hypocrites. [passage omitted]

The clergy should not organize pastoral "scouting" units. It is true that breaking into the scout movement and undermining it with different ideological and even—yes, this is true—political tenets do not offend against the law as the organization of "alternative scout movement" does, but these activities constitute an attack against something much more important. They expose some of our young people to the upbringing that is morally destructive. [passage omitted]

In the past 40 years our scout movement has been an organization interested in lay upbringing. It takes no interest in the religious attitudes of its members and avoids most consciously to organize religious life in any way, because those who seek such life can find it outside the scout movement and outside the school.

Both daily events and all relevant research invariably prove that religious attitudes and upbringing exert no special positive or negative impact on the practices of civic, moral, state, national, professional, or vocational life. The religious attitude of the basic mass of Catholics is rather strongly isolated from practical life in even such areas as sex and the family, let alone the job or civic areas. On the other hand, all kinds of confrontation within educational and upbringing systems and all kinds of equivocation always produce negative educational results. In any event, all the people, believers and nonbelievers, have to pay for these results during the adult lives of succeeding generations. That is why demoralizing the educational methods and structures by stealthily introducing into them other authorities, priorities, methods, ideological arguments, and obedient formations is a greatly risky undertaking.

Disrupting and undermining the scout movement from within is a socially dangerous and morally harmful practice. One should not organize an "alternative scouting movement" if one wants to achieve positive results in the process of the upbringing of the young generation—positive results for the country, the people, and the state.

Of course, some people may set themselves entirely different goals of upbringing, but the question is whether impregnating the scouting movement and the young

people joining it with such double ideology, ideological-moral opportunism, flashy equivocations, and rather risky confrontations will help achieve the desirable upbringing results.

Weekly on PEN Club's Suspended Existence

AU291251 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 21 Feb 88 pp 8, 7
[Juliusz Zulawski article: "The Existence of the PEN Club"]

[Excerpts] In 1983 the Polish center of the International PEN Club—this center was suspended in December 1981—was reinstated by the Polish administrative authorities, but, at the same time, this center's legally elected board was dissolved. [passage omitted]

In the past few years special difficulties have been created for the Polish PEN Club, and radio stations have devoted some nosiy publicity to it. Why? Simply because the International PEN Club has been unable to accept the fact that for the first time ever in PEN Club history local administrative authorities dissolved the statutorily elected PEN Club board before the completion of its term and replaced it with a trustee board appointed from among state officials. That is why the International PEN Club has proclaimed our center "dormant," that is, incapable of acting under the present conditions until it is reinstated. This "dormant" board is the only body empowered to convene the general meeting of PEN Club members for the purpose of holding new and normal elections in line with the statute. In this situation it would seem that everything is clear and that overcoming difficulties is a simple task. But not everything is clear and simple in our times, especially when, for secret reasons, people fail to tell the truth about the real state of affairs. [passage omitted]

I have briefly recalled all this in order to touch upon the most essential issues. People of good will have a fair knowledge of the traditions of the Polish PEN Club, the existence of which in this country not only has always accorded with the principles of the PEN Club Charter, but has also been truly useful for our efforts to deepen and consolidate our national culture. Except for occupation of our country during World War II, the activity of the Polish PEN Club continued to develop under changeable conditions until the end of 1981 when it was suddenly suspended and then completely paralyzed.

Since then all the annual congresses of the International PEN Club—the most important part of these congresses are the closed sessions of the delegates of the national PEN Clubs, who discuss all organizational issues and adopt of binding resolutions—have adopted the necessary resolutions on the situation of the Polish PEN Club. That is why the PEN Club Presidium has continued to address official letters to the highest Polish authorities. Both these almost unanimous resolutions, including the last adopted in Lugano, and these numerous letters addressed to our authorities demanded that the problem be solved is the simplest way: To reactivate the dissolved board so it can convene a meeting to elect a new board in this only legal way. Only then will the International PEN Club be able to cancel the "dormant" status and again recognize our center as a full member of the International PEN Club. The International PEN Club and our present statutory board take the view that this would be the only way for the Polish PEN Club to exist again as fully statutory and international body.

'Open Letter' Appeals for Free Association

AU291258 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 21 Feb 88 p 6

["'Open Letter' to the PPR Authorities"]

[Text] The Polish crisis is continuing. One of its results, which are too harmful to our people, is a virtually general feeling that it is impossible to engage in genuinely effective activity. This feeling often goes hand in hand with one's disbelief in personal efforts for the common good. Without repeating almost identical views of many authoritative persons on the original causes of such a state of affairs, we wish to express our strong conviction that it is quite improbable that beneficial and lasting changes in the social climate will be able to trigger militancy of individuals and groups of people without the elimination of two essential barriers.

That is why we believe that, first, it is impossible to begin to overcome the crisis without really, and not merely declaratively, honoring the right of citizens to form free associations. The experience of the past 40 years shows that attempts to politically monopolize social initiative and to license—on an exceptionally restricted scale—civic social, cultural, economic, vocational, and professional activities produce, instead of progress, obvious torpor and apathy, which are often intensified by justified distrust. Opposing such a turn of affairs, the Poles continue to sense an ever increasing lack of practical solutions that would make it possible to cater to the riches of social pluralism by organizing many active associations, institutions, establishments, publishing centers, and movements governed only by the laws and not by the ad hoc policy of the administration and by current moods of the authorities.

That is why we appeal to those in power to respect the resolve of any group of people who wish to organize themselves for purposes that are not in conflict with the law. We appeal for halting the practice in line with which it is the caprice of a clerk that determines the existence of and the catering to citizens' corporate needs. We appeal for changing the anachronistic regulations on associations of more than 50 years ago and for legally empowering the courts to supervise decisions in this regard.

Second, we think that every citizen has the right to demand legal changes in a way that does not conflict with the law. Two enormously important issues are involved: The consistent elimination of regulations that have

either failed to pass the test of life or have become obsolete; and the creation in their place of a new framework, forms, and principles of communal life. In the life of the PPR, the Constitution has been changed many times, the laws hundreds of times, and minor regulations thousands of times. Although it is the government and administrative bodies that make laws, each citizen and each community is indisputably entitled to criticize openly specific regulations and to present and analyze new regulations. Attempts to impose certain taboos in this regard must be regarded as restricting national sovereignty.

That is why we appeal to the authorities to respect the law and to ensure that no one who rejects violence can ever be punished for publicly demanding changes in the regulations in force. We appeal to those in power to allow creating genuine conditions (periodicals, clubs, and so on) so that one is able to discuss freely the virtues and defects of the state's socioeconomic system. We appeal for recognizing the fact that no one has the monopoly for infallibility and that those whose ideas are different from those of the authorities are just as entitled to present their arguments to the people.

Poland needs a genuine social accord that can be accepted not only by those who approve of the present system, but also by those who know that it is necessary to change this system profoundly so that our people can become fully sovereign. We take the view that before new specific legal-institutional solutions are implemented they must first be tangibly approved by a majority of Poles. We are also convinced that no group, segment, class, or organization of our people can be allowed to deem itself to be above everyone else and to identify itself with all the people. We also think that it is possible and necessary to achieve joint and comprehensive success on the basis of such rule as of public debates about the Republic's improvements.

Signed in Warsaw, December 1987-January 1988

The alphabetical list of signatories:

Dr Leszek Balcerowicz, economist; Professor Dr Grzegorz Bialkowski, physicist; Professor Dr Jan Bialostocki, historian of art, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Andrzej Bialynicki-Birula, mathematician, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Dr Ryszard Bugaj, economist; Andrzej Drawicz, professor in Russian; Professor Dr Waclaw Gajewski, biologist, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Maciej Ilowiecki, journalist; Professor Dr Marian Janion, historian of literature; Professor Dr Stefan Kieniewicz, historian, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Wlodzimierz Kolos, chemist, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr J. H. Kunicki-Goldfinger, biologist, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Zdzislaw Libera, historian of literature; Professor Dr Tadeusz Lepkowski, historian; Professor Dr Jerzy Los, mathematician, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Artur Miedzyrzecki, writer; Aleksander Paszynski, journalist; Stanislaw Remuszko, journalist; Prof Dr Henryk Samnsonowicz, historian; Professor Dr Andrzej Schinzel, mathematician, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Barbara Skarga, philosopher; Professor Dr Jozef Smak, astronomer, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Magdalena Sokolowska, sociologist; Professor Dr Jerzy Stembrowicz, lawyer; Jan J. Szczepanski, writer; Professor Dr Waclaw Szubert, lawyer, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Andrzej Wroblewski, physicist, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Andrzej Zahorski, historian; Professor Dr Janusz Ziolkowski, sociologist; Juliusz Zulawski, writer.

Council of Ministers Views Crime for 1987

AU261730 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 88 p 2

[Excerpt] PAP—On 22 February, the Council of Ministers heard a report on the implementation of the 1987 program on preventing and combating social wrongdoing and crime.

Last year was the second year for such a program. The Council observed that the growth trend in crime had been halted, just as in 1986. But there were major changes in the types of criminal offences. The overall crime index, measured per 100,000 inhabitants, fell from 1,356 to 1,350 against the 1986 index. The number of homicides fell by 3 percent while the number of cases involving grievous bodily harm fell by 11 percent. The number of offenses against public bodies and officials fell by almost 20 percent. Furthermore, there was a 4-percent drop in economic offences—especially theft of public property and corruption. Road safety improved. There were 36,427 road accidents in 1987, about 20 percent less than the year before. The number of people killed and injured in road accidents also fell by about 2.5 percent. The number of indictments against drunken drivers fell.

The number of crimes against property increased compared with 1986 thefts, and burglaries increased by 8.7 and 14 percent respectively. Furthermore, there was an increase in the number of thefts of high-value property, cases of mismanagement, and hard-currency smuggling offences. Compared with 1986, the success rate in solving these categories of crime fell by 1.6 percent.

Reducing the number of crimes and making progress in solving and preventing them depends on the spreading of experience in preventive work and on society's support for combating social wrongdoing.

Concerning the implementation of laws dealing with the curbing of social wrongdoing, last year particular emphasis was laid on the protection of children and young people because of an alarming growth in the number of juvenile offenders and a drop in their average age. Last

year, almost 6,500 young people below the age of 13 clashed with the law. Juveniles make up over 12 percent of the total number of offenders. Educational action has been intensified against morally depraved and socially maladjusted juveniles in order to eliminate the cause of these negative phenomena. The number of specialized advisory centers of various kinds has increased. Some 303 teams of persons, 40 clubs, and 175 classes have been set up in order to provide social therapy for problem schoolchildren. There are 555 occupational therapy and 352 social-legal centers in Poland. Youth organizations, specifically the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and Polish Scouts Association, provide great help in this matter. They organize wide-scale educational activity. All these actions, supported by other social and political organizations, have, among other things, caused a decline in the number of registered drug addicts since 1985. The number of poisonings and deaths from an overdose of drugs has also fallen. There are 17 thousand drug addicts in militia files—the same number as in previous years.

The Council noted similarly favorable changes in the combating of alcohol abuse. Supplies of alcoholic beverages were reduced by about 2 million liters last year. There was a 33-percent fall in the number of cases involving the illegal production of alcohol, and a 16 percent fall in illegal sales of alcohol. Furthermore, there was a fall in the number of alcohol-induced crimes. Cases of people bringing beverages with a high alcohol content and consuming them at their place of work also fell. Nevertheless, work managements are still too lenient toward the consumption of alcohol at work. Only 27 percent of such cases were referred to the courts. This reveals a lack of consistency in applying the legal rules in force.

Legal culture and awareness play an important role in combating social wrongdoing. That is why legal knowledge was introduced to the curricula of secondary schools for the 1986-7 school year. Right now, law is taught in almost half of all schools of general education, in 30 percent of vocational training schools, and in 13 percent of technical colleges. This is supplemented by meetings with representatives of law-enforcement bodies. The press, radio, and television have also stepped up their work in this sphere. These undertakings are believed to have a major influence on the shaping of social attitudes. A further propagation of legal culture among broad sectors of society is envisaged. [passage omitted]

Amendments to People's Councils Law Viewed

LD292023 Warsaw PAP in English
1625 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw Feb. 29—Public consultations of amendments to the Law on the System of People's Councils and Territorial Self-Government have come to an end. Member of the Council of State Professor Kazimierz Seconski presented results of the discussion at a press conference today. Here are the most important points he made:

—the main direction of amendments to the law, universally supported during consultations, is a striving for a genuine financial independence of the councils,

—in tune with the spirit of the second state of the economic reform, subsidies for local budgets will be gradually phased out,

—revenues from enterprises subordinated until recently to ministers, now supervised by voivodship authorities, are and will be an important source of the councils' incomes,

—the Council of State made preliminary decisions to give legal status to people's councils as of January 1, 1989. This is related to the possibility of drawing bank credits by people's councils guaranteed by their future incomes,

—there is a proposal to introduce a principle that voivodship people's councils appoint and recall voivodes, and that the prime minister presents candidates for this post,

—to consolidate the counsellor's legal position, there is a proposal to introduce immunity of the counsellor, controversial as shown by consultations, similar to the one enjoyed by Sejm deputies.

Culture Minister Views Openness in Arts

AU261501 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
20 Feb 88 p 9

[Interview with Aleksander Krawczuk, minister of culture and art, by Anna Matalowska and Zdzislaw Pietrasik: "For What Does the World Envy Us?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Question] What is the crux of your cultural policy?

[Krawczuk] I think the situation is more normal than 1 or 2 years ago. I think openness is complete.

[Question] What about the climate of freedom....

[Krawczuk] There is really very little we can still do in this regard. The movies that we said last year should be publicly screened are being screened. We continue to publish whatever is artistically valuable.

[Question] Nevertheless, some people say that in the Soviet Union cultural "perestroyka" has made greater progress than in our country. This is a serious charge.

[Krawczuk] But glasnost, to use this fashionable Russian word, has begun in our country. Let us not give away something we have earned ourselves. Who is it that has made greater progress? I will insist on saying that we have made greater progress and that we continue to outstrip others in ideas and bold decisions, although I

have to concede that in some areas our Soviet comrades are more resolute in action. For example, I was delighted to learn that anonymous letters will no longer be taken in consideration in the USSR. [passage omitted]

[Question] You say that everything continues to go back to normal in our culture, but every now and then an artist refuses to accept an award or he insults the authorities. Some people are still dissatisfied with your work.

[Krawczuk] But these people are able to talk and write publicly about their grievances, which is a sign of openness. I also speak openly about these things.

[Question] What about the wearisome subject of associations and last year's promises about them? There have been few changes.

[Krawczuk] This subject is wearisome. I have said many times that strong creative associations are in the interest of creative communities. I hope the stalemate in this regard will end at last, but artists themselves should show more good will.

[Question] You said this last year, but the situation in the Union of Polish Writers or the Union of Polish Actors has not changed. Those who refused to join have still not joined, and young artists do not show any sign of wanting to join en masse. Are you really able to look at this situation calmly? Do you have any new proposals?

[Krawczuk] As for the Union of Polish Actors, it will soon hold its congress. Preparations and talks in this connection are continuing. I think that it is absolutely necessary to strengthen the Union of Polish Actors. This is in the vital interest of the theater people, because a reorganization in this area is inevitably pending. Who will protect the rank-and-file actors? Great actors will certainly be able to cope. If the congress is to produce desirable results, the present authorities of the Union of Polish Actors must also go for openness as far as possible.

I think that the situation of the writers' community is not too bad. The first thing to note is the genuine pluralism of the union, something that everyone has craved for. Aside from the Union of Polish Writers, there are associations of Polish authors and of translators of belles lettres. There are also regional and other clubs. Proposals to set up new clubs have been made. We will back these proposals. Some writers seem to wish to stand on the sidelines, but this is their own affair.

At times it seems to me that Aleksander Krawczuk is the only genuine pluralist and liberal in this country. This is because, from all sides—from the right, from the left, from the top, and from the underground—I hear people grumble that we are disrupted and that there is no integration, no accord, no unity, and no organizational community. What is the significance of this? Do ministers in other countries worry about various writers' not belonging to various unions? Whether creative people want to pay membership fees and do social work is their own private affair. It is true that our system needs some unions, not necessarily too numerous, so they can fight for the problems of the entire community. Such unions can even be elitist.

I must say that the Union of Polish Writers, the Association of Polish Architects, and the Association of Translators continue to contend with the authorities and have registered quite a few achievements in this connection. But to make a big issue, or any issue at all, out of the fact that some people are "organized" and some are not is a complete mistake. This is the mode of thinking of 30 years ago.

[Question] What about the unfortunate PEN Club? Can nothing really be done about it? Last year it was correctly suggested that Professor Suchodolski or the Convention of the Seniors should convene an election meeting of the club members to choose new authorities.

[Krawczuk] Talks in this connection are still continuing, but the unsolved issue is who is to convene a plenary meeting. Some club members insist that this must be done by the old administration, which has been dissolved, but the authorities think that this is unnecessary because one cannot expect the mayor of Warsaw to annul the decisions made by another mayor some years ago.

[Question] Nevertheless, it is necessary to somehow eliminate this last relic of martial law.

[Krawczuk] I do not think that the old administration of the PEN Club is really interested in returning to normal conditions. The existing PEN Club is no problem at all, but the suspended PEN Club is a source of a certain moral-propaganda status. This is what occurs to me at times, but perhaps I am mistaken. [passage omitted]

[Question] About rumors. Our well-informed friends told us not to interview you because you are expected to become the Polish ambassador to the Vatican soon.

[Krawczuk] When I took over this ministry over a year ago, I was told in this room: Within a year, people will start talking about your leaving your post. What a correct prediction! The good Warsaw custom is to overcome a minister with rumors at the very moment when he could start doing something really important, because he already knows how the land lies. Such rumors, which are made about all ministers and are part of our political folklore, can be quite dangerous, because they destabilize the offices and the work with various communities. [passage omitted]

Miodowicz Addresses Government-TU Session

AU291200 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] PAP—Addressing the 25 February joint session of the Council of Ministers and OPZZ Executive Committee, Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ

chairman, said that the basic topic covering the whole of 1988 is how to maintain the standard of living. Unfortunately, there was a drop in real wages in 1987, he said. We accepted with confidence a declaration by the authors of the economic reform concept whereby the reform is meant to preserve the level of real wages. We still ask whether prices are chasing wages, or whether wages are chasing prices. In any case, it is a fact that labor in the socialized economy is too cheap, which is confirmed by the exodus of people to the private sector. This is not a major economic problem, but from the point of view of the class trade unions, it is intolerable.

Polemicizing with views about alleged differences between the interests of the trade unions and those of workers' self-management bodies, A. Miodowicz stressed that the trade unions consider the self-management bodies important partners in the work of reforming the economy. For both have risen from the same mold and are interested in the same affairs, in other words an increase in the standard of living and the development of enterprise.

People have also attempted to show that our interests clash with those of farmers' unions. And yet during meetings between the leaderships of the industrial and farmers unions, we have reached joint conclusions, and in many issues our interests converge. We have never said that the unions oppose honest craftsmen. Nevertheless, the trade unions view with dismay the very high and frequently unjustified earnings of the private sector, which is flourishing thanks to favorable state credits.

The economy has to be reformed in such a way as to make people feel that their lives are not worse, A. Miodowicz continued. However, we are threatened with major inflation this year. I doubt whether the Finance Ministry will manage to restrain wages in their race to catch up with prices.

Now we have to concentrate on setting the labor law in order, A. Miodowicz continued. However, not even the best amended labor code can automatically ensure a well-functioning economy and work discipline. It is also an urgent matter to amend the law on factory wage systems, on which the conclusion of new collective labor agreements depends.

We are frequently asked what the trade unions intend to do in order to improve productivity in factories. A return to the old style of work competition is impossible, A. Miodowicz said. But if the trade unions concentrated more on work safety and hygiene and working conditions in factories, they would help to make work more productive and efficient. And that is the only correct way.

Messner Meets With Zamosc Delegation

LD262022 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Zbigniew Messner has met with a delegation of the Wisla-Odra Association and the authorities of the Zamosc Region. A document establishing a Zamosc Academy Foundation has been signed. As the statute declares, the aim of this initiative is the development of various forms of civic education based on the ideas and traditions of the academy. The foundation's fund currently contains more than Z21 million.

Miodowicz Discusses Industrial Health Care

AU262045 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 22 Feb 88 p 3

[Statement made to SZTANDAR MLODYCH by Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member, chairman of the OPZZ, and head of the PZPR Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission in Lodz on 20 February: "Importance Provides No Cures"]

[Text] The importance of the industrial health service in our employment system really has to be emphasized. This is even more so because it is sometimes in a very poor state, or, at any rate, in an unsatisfactory state. But importance alone provides no cures. I would like to make the following observations: The industrial health is not "favorite child" of the Health Ministry, and, in addition, not all plants "sense the problem." It also worries me that managements' pursuit of profits often leads to there being a very hazy picture of work force's health needs, and this is true not just of Lodz...

For various reason the industrial health service does not attract scores of doctors. In addition to this, there are problems with supplies. This is stating the obvious, but we have to find a way out.

The policy of increasing the number of shifts is basically sound, but, in my opinion, women ought not to be made to work the late, third shift. They have enough problems to deal with at home, and problems connected with their workplace, and it is well-known that work performed at night is not productive. So, does it make any sense. Moreover, plants in the textile industry must be retooled. New equipment is also need in the industrial health service. But it will not be possible to do this just by relying on the efforts of the Health Ministry, support must also come from the Industry Ministry, and, finally, from plants themselves.

As soon as possible we will commission a document for the party leadership, a brief on the "classic lost cause" of more equipment for the health service. The way in which this is depicted, and the growing number of shortcomings and misunderstanding must be eliminated as quickly as possible. More means more everywhere, and in this case we are dealing with a lost cause... All the other suggestions, problems, and issues that came up during the Lodz visit will be the subject of a special, field Politburo session.

Sejm Deputies Discuss Foreign Debt

LD262327 Warsaw PAP in English
2010 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 26—During a meeting here today of the Sejm's Committee for External Economic Cooperation, the deputies were critical in their discussion about the solving of the issue of Poland's foreign debt but they saw possibilities for the settlement of the problem.

The government's representative, Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda, recalled that Poland's debt to socialist countries (mainly the Soviet Union) amounted to 6.6 billion transfer roubles which corresponds to 62 percent of the annual revenue from exports to those countries. According to him the servicing of the debt has not been difficult so far, and the balancing of current trade turnover is envisaged in 1990.

The hard-currency debt totals 39.2 billion U.S. dollars and it exceeds fivefold the annual revenue from exports to hard-currency countries. "This state has a negative influence on the development of economic cooperation with capitalist countries. It reduces the import capability and creditworthiness which, in turn, makes gaining credits for investment projects or the development (reconstruction) of the existing potential impossible," Gwiazda said.

"At the present moment merchant credits are the source of the influx of capital from abroad. An example of the biggest such credit is the credit awarded within the agreement between Fiat, Polmot and the FSM Compact Car Factory," he added.

According to Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik, Poland is among the seven countries which were faced with extremely difficult conditions of debt repayment, and from the list he presented (which also includes Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam) the conclusion may be drawn that the reasons for this were of a non-economic nature.

"On entry into the International Monetary fund we were counting on 400-500 million dollar investment credits for the pro-export "push" of the economy. However, in talks with its representatives, as a preliminary condition for the improvement of cooperation, our partners put the achievement, during D-3 years [as received], of current interest repayment. This is to be achieved through Poland's unilateral effort," the minister said.

Discussing the ensuing social costs and presenting the large sums which Poland has already repaid, Minister Samojlik said that the arresting of the growth of the debt by way of current interest servicing was planned to take place in 1991.

ZSL Views Rural Agricultural Production

LD262253 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Supplies of the means of production for agriculture, fuels, agents, for the protection of plants and fodder were assessed as inadequate at today's joint meeting of the Government Presidium and Secretariat of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL). They stated that the maintenance of parity in incomes between the rural and urban populations had not succeeded. The costs of agricultural production have grown over and above the plan. As the government side stated, detailed plans for the supply of chemical agents are being prepared, and work is taking place on new technology for producing agricultural machinery. The proceedings are cochaired by Zbigniew Messner and Roman Malinowski.

Orzechowski Arrives in Thailand, Interviewed

LD291609 Warsaw PAP in English
1412 GMT 29 Feb 88

[By PAP special correspondent Stanislaw Grzymski]

[Text] Bangkok [No date as received]—After a visit to India Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski arrived Monday in the Kingdom of Thailand for an official visit at the invitation of the Thai Government. At the airport Minister Orzechowski was welcomed by Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs Sitthi Sawetsila.

In an interview given upon his arrival to a local press representative, Minister Orzechowski said that Polish-Thai relations had a long tradition and had been developing very well for many years, especially in the economic field. Both states are undergoing economic transformations and are interesting partners for each other. Poland wishes to strengthen this mutually profitable cooperation and widen it to include other fields, he said.

Minister Orzechowski also stressed that it was in the interest of both countries to cooperate with an eye to strengthening world peace, eliminating regional conflicts, supporting initiatives improving the international climate such as the the treaty signed in Washington by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

Polish-Thai plenary talks will begin on Tuesday, March 1st.

Leaders Greet Czechs on Victorious February

AU291240 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish
25 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[Greetings telegram from Polish leaders to CSSR counterparts on CSSR National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR; and Comrade Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Government, in Prague:

In connection with the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's embarking on the road to socialist transformations, we wish to convey to you, dear comrades, and the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples sincere, friendly greetings from the PZPR Central Committee, PPR State Council and Council of Ministers, and Polish people.

This historic event, the culmination of a long struggle by the workers class and all working people of Czechoslovakia for social justice led by your Communist party, was at the same time an important stage in the emergence of the community of socialist states and an important contribution toward consolidating the forces of peace and socialism.

The PZPR and Polish society harbor genuine respect for the fraternal Czechoslovak people's great achievements in social, economic, and cultural life—the result of 4 decades of socialist construction. The victory by the working masses of Poland and Czechoslovakia and a communion of ideals and objectives started a new chapter in the development of relations between our peoples and states, which are so close to each other.

We are convinced that the present transformations in our countries and the complete mutual understanding and confidence between the PZPR and CPCZ constitute particularly favorable conditions for a further consolidation of the friendship joining our peoples and a comprehensive development of Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation.

We wish to further enhance and tighten this cooperation, convinced that this will serve to accelerate our countries' socioeconomic development and consolidate the strength and unity of the entire community of socialist states.

Accept, esteemed comrades, best wishes for further achievements in creatively implementing the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress and in multiplying the achievements of your socialist fatherland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman; Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

Polish, Soviet Historians Meet

LD292030 Warsaw PAP in English
1629 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 29—The Polish-Soviet party historians'commission for examining the history of relations between both countries started another session here on Monday.

The commission's activity is headed by Prof G. Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute at the CPSU CC, and Prof Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the PUWP Academy of Social Sciences.

The debates will last till next March 5.

Historians To Examine World War II

LD292031 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] A session of the Polish-Soviet commission of party historians for the study of history and relations between the two countries has started in Warsaw. Let us recall that its work was started during a Moscow meeting last May.

Here are commission head Georgiy Smirnov, the director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee; and Professor Jarema Maciszewski, the rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences:

[Begin recording] [Smirnov, in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I think that today, richer in knowledge and experience, we will be able to start on the next stage of examining another range of issues that the commission faces and that we had planned earlier.

[Maciszewski] I think we will be able, side by side with other issues, to examine in detail such issues as the complex of matters connected with our mutual history for the period 1917-21, without avoiding the difficult issues of that period. We will devote much attention to those problems connected with military cooperation between the Polish and Soviet people during the years of World War II, which are unknown, or little known, or incorrectly interpreted. We will also devote much attention to the issues of the situation and fate of Polish people during World War II on the territory of the Soviet Union, without avoiding such tragic problems as the problem of deportations.

[Smirnov] As far as the problems of deportations go, now of course we have at our disposal a number of valuable and important documents, which have previously been inaccessible. We will be discussing this during the commission's proceedings, so it is too early to give details. [end recording]

CPSU Agricultural Delegation Arrives 29 Feb

LD292152 Warsaw PAP in English
1821 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 29—A delegation of members and alternate members of the CPSU CC, employed in the agricultural sector, arrived in Poland on Monday. The five-strong delegation is headed by Natalia Gellert, CPSU CC member, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, machine specialist in the Amangeldy Sovkhoz in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Members of the CPSU central authorities will get acquainted with the forms of work of the PUWP CC and the activity of party organizations in food production enterprises and in the rural areas. The delegation will tour farms representing all sectors of Polish agriculture, which will make it possible for them to have a closer look at the assumptions and economic mechanisms of the 2nd stage of the economic reform.

Giosan Pays Visit to Tunisia, Algeria

Meets Tunisian Parliamentarians

AU281906 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1735 GMT 28 Feb 88

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 28/02/1988—The Romanian parliamentary delegation, headed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], who paid an official visit of friendship to Tunisia, had talks with Rachid Sfar, president of the National Assembly, with other members of the Tunisian Parliament.

Emphasis was placed on the mutual wish to intensify the collaboration between the two Parliaments on a bilateral plane and within the Inter-Parliamentary Union, on the contribution the Parliaments and parliamentarians were called upon to make to the creation of a climate of peace and collaboration all over the world.

During the visit the GNA delegation also had interviews with Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche, with other members of the Tunisian Government.

Received by Tunisian President

AU262047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1852 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 26/02/1988—The president of the Republic of Tunisia, Zine el Abidine Ben Ali received Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, head of a Romanian parliamentary delegation who are paying a visit to Tunisia. On the occasion the Tunisian president was conveyed a cordial message of salute and the best wishes of good health and personal happiness and the friendly Tunisian people wishes of progress and prosperity on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

The Tunisian head of state thanked warmly and conveyed Romania's president a friendly salute and the best wishes of good health and personal happiness and the friendly Romanian people wishes of further significant successes.

During the talk conducted on the occasion emphasis was placed on the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples and the wish was expressed to further expand the Romanian-Tunisian cooperation.

The president of the Republic of Tunisia expressed high appreciation for the consistent policy of peace, understanding and disarmament promoted by Romania, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposals and initiatives for a just and lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East.

Meets Algerian Officials

AU262048 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1855 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Algiers, AGERPRES, 26/02/1988—During their visit to Algeria, the Romanian parliamentarian delegation led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, conducted talks with Rabah Bitat, president of the National Assembly of Algeria, with other deputies. The importance was underscored of growing efforts on the part of the two supreme legislative forums, to stimulate the Romanian-Algerian cooperation in all areas of mutual interest.

While in Algiers, the Grand National Assembly delegation also had an interview with Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi and with other Algerian ministers.

Constantinescu Attends Bulgarian Reception

AU291953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1815 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/02/1988—On the 110th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule, that country's ambassador to Bucharest, Boncho Mitev, gave a cocktail party on Monday, February 29.

The attendance included Ion Constantinescu, deputy prime minister, executives of ministries and central institutions, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, party and state activists, men of letters and artists, journalists.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, other members of the diplomatic corps.

Ceausescu Greets Israel's President Herzog

AU010837 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
25 Feb 88 p 5

[Telegram sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Israeli President Hayim Herzog, on reelection]

[Text] To Mr Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel,

Your reelection to the office of president of the State of Israel gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you warm congratulations and best wishes for health and success in your activity.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania.

Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Feb

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 21-27 February period (sourcelines given in parantheses).

On 26 February, RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee (1945 GMT 26 Feb), met with USSR vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vedernikov (1935 GMT 26 Feb), and received outgoing Spanish ambassador, Nicolas Revenga. (1926 GMT 26 Feb)

On 23 February, Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, attended Soviet Embassy reception in Bucharest. (1727 GMT 23 Feb)

On 21 February, Ion Coman, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, was received in Madrid by Spanish Communist Party leader Dolores Ibarruri. (1530 GMT 21 Feb)

On 22 February, Ion Coman, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, met with Julio Anquita Gonzalez, PCE general secretary. (1731 GMT 22 Feb)

On 21 February, Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, met in Lisbon with the Portuguese Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal. (1557 GMT 21 Feb) The same day, Nicolae Constantin extended RCP message to the Seventh Congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party in Lisbon. (1601 GMT 21 Feb)

On 22 February, Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, met with Manuel Tito de Morais, chairman of the Portuguese Socialist Party, in Lisbon. (1734 GMT 22 Feb)

On 21 February, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the government, met with Bulgaria's chairman of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Atanasov. (1510 GMT 21 Feb)

On 25 February, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the government, met with USSR's Vedernikov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. (1916 GMT 25 Feb)

On 22 February, Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met with Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid. (1856 GMT 22 Feb)

On 26 February, Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, was received by Tunisian president in Tunis. (1852 GMT 26 Feb) and met with Algerian National Assembly president and others in Algiers. (1855 GMT 26 Feb)

On 24 February, Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, attended a reception at the CSSR Embassy in Bucharest. (2016 GMT 24 Feb)

On 24 February, Ioan Totu, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, gave a speech at the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting in Belgrade. (1936 GMT 24 Feb)

On 25 February, Ioan Totu, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, met with his Albanian, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Greek counterparts in Belgrade. (1919 GMT 25 Feb)

TANJUG Announces Gorbachev Visit

LD291516 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Feb (TANJUG)—At the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will make an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia in the middle of March this year.

Gorbachev To Sign Declaration

AU291411 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 24 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, Feb 29 (AFP)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will make his first official visit to Yugoslavia next month, a reliable source said here Monday.

During his stay from March 14 to 18, Mr. Gorbachev will sign a "joint declaration" with Yugoslav leaders and make an official address to parliament with Belgrade, the source added.

Mr. Gorbachev may also visit Zagreb or a major electronics centre at Kranj in Slovenia, but the detailed itinerary for his trip has not been completed.

Kosovo Press Interviews Albania's Malile

AU292041 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Feb 88 p 3

[Avni Spahiu, Fahri Musliu report: "Interview Given to RILINDJA by Reis Malile, Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs—Sincere Desire for Improving the Atmosphere in the Balkans"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb—At a meeting with journalists yesterday evening, Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, answered our paper's questions and presented Albania's views on the Balkan Ministers Conference, cooperation within the Balkans, and Yugoslav-Albanian relations.

Comrade Minister, what are your impressions of this meeting of the ministers of Balkan countries?

We have come to Belgrade to make our sincere contribution toward developing positive relations in the Balkans, and to create a positive atmosphere in our region. To achieve this, of course, we must make no small efforts.

We came to Belgrade with Albania's sincere desire to arouse a truly constructive spirit, and to consolidate defense and security. Of course, the problems of the Balkans are not simple. They are tough, but I think that the views we have exchanged with the foreign ministers constitute a basis. We cannot say that anything has been solved. This is not the solution. There are many unsolved problems and very great efforts must be made to overcome them.

What do you think of Yugoslav-Albanian relations following this meeting of Balkan ministers?

We hope that relations between Yugoslavia and Albania too, in the context of cooperation among the participants in this conference, must embark on a better road. We are in favor of a high standard of integrity [per cilesi te mire]. Of course, we will make efforts. We hope that the Yugoslav side will also show goodwill.

An agreement for cultural, scientific, and educational cooperation between Yugoslavia and Albania has been signed recently. Comrade Minister, could you tell us something more about this?

Now that the agreement has been signed, we must now, without fail, embody it in a solid program. We have reached agreement with the Yugoslav side and we hope that we will finish our work within a short time. There is no doubt that the program will encourage cooperation between our two countries in the field of culture, science, and education.

In your speech you mention minorities as "bridges of rapprochement and cooperation." Could you tell us something about this?

We have always been sincere on this issue. We have always wanted minorities to act as bridges and have desired progress in this issue. In connection with Kosovo, we have not demanded, and do not demand anything. We desire the prosperity of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, including the people of Kosovo too, and all the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia, so that they too may enjoy all their rights like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution.

The elements that cause divisions, minorities, nationalities to enjoy their full rights on the basis of the laws of the appropriate countries, and we wish them to become factors for friendship among different countries. [sentence as published] The problem of the minorities is one of the greatest problems in the Balkans. This also, of course, includes the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

How do you perceive the Balkans after this meeting?

In general, we are satisfied with the conference's work. But implementation is the main thing. What we have achieved is not enough. It is merely a small step. The main thing is to act on these results, and we must therefore struggle in this direction to achieve results.

The main problem is this: We must see results from this meeting, and if results are achieved, this will perhaps lead us to desire other meetings.

All the Balkan countries have together suffered much from the influence of imperialists. I therefore hope that we will all together commit ourselves to keep them far from the Balkans.

Albanian Press at Conference Interviewed

AU292033 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Gift From Belgrade"]

[Text] "We are neighbors and must be friends," said Napoleon Roshi, an editor of the Tirana paper BASHKIMI, who has come to Belgrade as part of the seven-man team of journalists from Albania.

The team includes ATA reporters, a ZERI I POPULLIT journalist, an Albanian Radio-Television reporter, and two photo-reporters.

They all travelled and arrived by car via Ohrid, where they were met by representatives of the Republican Secretariat for Information, who accompanied them throughout their visit to the town and its surroundings.

"I am sorry that we had no opportunity for such a visit in Belgrade, and that no excursion of any kind was organized for foreign journalists. We will go home having seen virtually nothing of your capital city," Napoleon Roshi said to us in fluent English (having first asked us in which of four languages we could communicate best). He did not show any signs of concern at suddenly finding himself, alongside his colleagues, at the center of the attention of almost all the reporters at the conference.

Nobody gave any particular stress to the reason for this, but it was implied that curiosity had been aroused by Albania's first steps out of many years of isolation, and by the presence of Albanian media representatives at a gathering for the first time.

However, our partner in the conversation felt the need to dispel an illusion.

"I have heard that it has been reported that our television team has 'emerged into the world for a visit' for the first time. This is not true. This is the first time we have been at such a meeting, because there have been no meetings of this kind before. But our cameramen have traveled a great deal, and were often in Yugoslavia before 1981."

Napoleon Roshi is head of the the foreign section of his newspaper, and writes two or three front-page commentaries every week about the most significant international events. In reply to the question of what he had been writing about recently, he mentioned the international conference on AIDS in London. In his commentary, he discussed the social aspect of the disease, because "society must first cure itself" to conquer it.

Roshi is married and has two daughters. One studies economics, and the other music. Both asked him to bring "a small present" from Belgrade.

Finally, we noticed that we were lucky to talk with our colleague, whom we "caught" on the first day during an interval in the conference. Other colleagues told us that everybody else who tried to talk to an Albanian on the following day did so in vain. The team of Albanian journalists "vanished" from the Press Center.

U.S. Decision To Close PLO Mission Viewed

LD291246 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1148 GMT 29 Feb 88

[By Dusan Miklja]

[Text] United Nations, February 29 (TANJUG)—Washington again provided the conservative U.S. press with an opportunity to campaign against the United Nations.

The accusations against "the rest of the world" are both unjustified and groundless since the dispute with the U.N. was caused by a U.S. Congress decision on closing the PLO observer mission in the United Nations.

Congress disregarded the State Department's warnings that the decision to close the PLO Office is illegal.

The U.S. is one of the founder countries of the U.N. which in 1947 signed an agreement under which it is obliged to allow all organisations accepted by the General Assembly to enter the country. In case of dispute the agreement envisages international arbitration, most often by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Congress disregarded the agreement unilaterally deciding to close the PLO mission. This is not the first decision taken by Congress or the U.S. Administration which disregards internationally accepted norms. Many decisions of The Hague Court of Justice were disregarded including one on the mining of a Nicaraguan port.

Most of the international community including the closest U.S. allies disapprove of the U.S. behavior. Only Israel voted against the Security Council resolution which condemns the decision to close the PLO mission because it runs counter to international law. The U.S. delegation protested by leaving the Security Council hall and refusing to vote.

Thus the world is on one side and the U.S. and Israel on the other. The Arab countries, among which many are U.S. allies, called for an urgent General Assembly session to debate the U.S. Congress decision. Clearly the U.S. would in the minority at that session.

Washington could avoid the unfavorable situation only if the decision on closing the PLO office is withdrawn. Possibilities for this are not great not only because of complicated legal procedures but also because a conservative image is favored over a liberal in the pre-election days.

When the old U.N.-U.S. dispute over the U.S. decision not to fully meet its financial obligations to the world organisation is added to this it becomes clear that Washington analysts should seek at home the answer to the question why the U.S. is often in the minority in the United Nations.

SFRY Assumes UN Security Council Presidency

LD010955 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0010 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] United Nations, February 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will hold the U.N. Security Council Presidency in the month of March. The chair of the president, as is the custom, was today turned over by U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters to his Yugoslav counterpart Dragoslav Pejic.

The permanent Yugoslav representative to the U.N. has taken over the Security Council Presidency at a moment which is both encouraging and demanding. On the one side, the improved climate in international relations and, especially, in relations between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has created a more favourable atmosphere for the Security Council to work in. On the other side, solutions yet remain to be found to the many regional crises which endanger peace and security in the world as a whole.

It is possible and likely that at least some of the open questions will find themselves on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council while Yugoslavia holds the Presidency. Will that be the case will primarily depend on the Security Council member-countries which, according to the council rules, raise initiatives for the council to meet.

The Iran-Iraq war, the Mid-East crisis and its crux, the Palestinian question, and the situation in southern Africa are most frequently cited as among the topics possibly to be discussed by the Security Council in March.

Racan Says Communism Parting With 'Illusions'

PM261521 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 7 14 Feb 88 p 6

[Interview with LCY Central Committee Presidium Member Ivica Racan by Viktor Tsoppi: "No Room for Illusions"]

[Text] MN: How effective is the system of socialist self-government given the rapid rate of scientific and technological progress? Don't the principles of self-government contradict the interests of the state?

I.R.: The Communist Movement is now parting with many illusions. There's less and less room for romanticism. Our sacred and blind faith in socialism—as an open road, without twists or turns, to communism—has obscured the difficulty and enormity of the tasks we set ourselves. In real life, socialism must endure occasional crises. Nevertheless, the situation in Yugoslavia today has taken many of us by surprise.

MN: Why?

I.R.: Because our analysis of society's evolution was not quite up to par. As a Marxist, I am convinced that we must critically analyze past and present events in order to be prepared for the Future.

MN: The current crisis is a big topic now in Yugoslavia. Yet people used to think that crises could only occur in capitalist societies.

I.R.: Exactly. We Communists have been saying for decades that capitalism cannot cope with its own crises. Wishful thinking. But once we opened our eyes, we saw that capitalism was a much more flexible and tenacious system than we thought.

MN: Capitalism doesn't have one foot in the grave.

I.R.: By no means. True, far from everything is perfect in that world. But we Communists must catch up on a sober analysis of the capitalist system. It is of vital importance for us now.

MN: Especially since we are in for a long period of coexistence and must assert ourselves through peaceful competition and cooperation within the framework of an increasingly interdependent world.

I.R.: Much depends on socialism's further development: the creation of new and more just relations in the sphere of production, and of a new kind of humanism based on all our positive experience from the past. The positive aspect of negative phenomena is that they let us know we've made a mistake or miscalculated.

MN: They remind us that we can err.

I.R.: And also that we are Communists, that we are posing ourselves really epoch-making tasks. We must keep our feet on the ground in times of trouble. We are getting rid of the opportunism hanging over our heads, like a sword of Damocles, or getting rid of the feeling of hopelessness and of being doomed.

MN: In the West, they're always claiming that Marxism-Leninism has discredited itself.

I.R.: We turn them into antiquated rules divorced from reality. And Marxism loses its constructiveness as a theory. But Marxism is a creative theory and must be used in a creative manner.

MN: Which issues of socialist construction, in your opinion, should be creatively reconsidered?

I.R.: The relations between socialist society and the state. In Yugoslavia, for example, the state hinders the development of socialism more than it helps it. We call it the issue of etatism (from the French etat-state, ED.). If we consider the emergence and development of self-government in Yugoslavia, since the beginning of the 1950s, the constant is the contest between self-government and etatism. That contest encompasses socio-economic, cultural, spiritual, and intellectual life.

Does this mean that nothing has changed in 30 years? No. The initial stages of self-government in a socially underdeveloped country differ radically from self-government today given the scientific and technological revolution which increasingly determines the contents of our lives and the rate of progress.

Red tape and etatism managed to insinuate themselves in the social framework intended only for working people practising self-government. What caused the economic crisis? We have always said that under true socialism the production of commodities must be market-oriented. However, we didn't have a stage-by-stage plan for turning this principle into a reality. So self-governing enterprises became less dependent on the demands of domestic and foreign markets and more dependent on the whims of local authorities.

It's really bad when voluntaristic etatism starts to rule the economy of a country where socialist, self-government is taking hold.

MN: In the Soviet Union, the transition to a new economic model has revealed that the managerial apparatus cannot cope when economic profitableness and democratic solutions are thrown into the equation.

I.R.: The nature of etatism makes it incapable of catering for demands of technological progress. It isn't cost-effective. Instead it promotes the growth of the technological bureaucracy and, in this case, socialist society cannot win.

We are looking for new and more effective solutions. Some people believe that problems in production relations can be solved all at once, by one decision, one decree. This is not our strategy, however, because it is not socialism. It's necessary that the socialism we've chosen be able to constantly correct itself and adjust.

We must free ourselves from the entanglement of all kinds of ideological illusions, and dogmatism. We must resist the appeal to preserve the status quo by all means. We must break the opposition to reconstruction. We must break the habit of developing the country under the aegis of etatism.

I'm convinced that breaking through our crises in Yugoslavia and your perestroyka in the USSR will require a certain social coercion.

The question is how to alleviate the pain of that coercion, how to make good use of public solidarity, how to make socialist humanism work at a time of dire trials. We are now at a crossroad in our development we have many more crossroads in store for us.

We—Yugoslavia and other socialist countries—must seriously consider the connection between the party and democracy. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is not a ruling party. The LCY is the ideological and political vanguard of the self-governing society. The question is: Has the LCY fulfilled its function or has it turned into the main force of etatism? We are aware that the LCY is in crisis. Tito warned us of the danger of fusing the government-bureaucratic forces and the party. This is a burning issue for us right now.

MN: What about the struggle for unity within the Yugoslavian League of Communists?

I.R.: It is of concern. The LCY doesn't exist in a void. The critical issue now is the ability of the LCY leadership to give a realistic assessment of the situation in its ranks and the League's place in society. We must make the ideological and political unity of the LCY a reality consistent with the principles and aims of our revolution.

To achieve this we must create conditions conducive for democratic discussion of the current crisis and show more tolerance for the minority view. In this way, our conclusions and plans will be more substantial and popular ones. Then the decisions of the LCY leadership won't be decrees imposed by Communists, but resolutions, accepted by the entire Party—and they'll be conscientiously carried out. It's high time we do away with the "division of labour" within the LCY between those who delegate and those who do the work assigned.

MN: Much of what you say, Comrade Racan, is very near to the new Soviet thinking. We have decided to switch from rule by decree—the practice for decades—to economic and democratic methods of management. What is your opinion of our perestroyka?

I.R.: Communists can and must prove that the socialist transformation of society is within their powers. If we fail, socialism as a reality, as the best form of development of human civilization, may disappear. I'm sure that both Soviet and Yugoslavian Communists have adequate responses for the difficult challenges of the times. To abstain from responding to the challenge would mean to discredit socialism.

Perestroyka, in the name of which you, the Soviet Communists, and all Soviet people are now working, should result in revolutionary changes. We Yugoslavians sincerely wish you success.

There aren't any ready-made recipes for the international Communist movement, nor can there be. Fifteen years ago I was talking to my Soviet comrades about our experiences. They told me: "We are different, but we are pursuing the same aim. It's not important that some of us are proceeding over a paved road and others along a forest path." I interjected: "Who's on a path?" "You are," they said. Let's be objective. We've both covered a certain part of the way on paved roads and another part on forest paths. I believe that Perestroyka, openness and democratization are taking the Soviet Union in the right direction. It is significant that glasnost bears not only on issues of internal policy, but also on issues of foreign policy—common to all socialist countries.

Iranian Delegation Ends 3-Day Visit

LD291245 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 29 Feb 88

["Pool item"]

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 29 (TANJUG)—Economic and political cooperation between Iran and Yugoslavia could be far more developed, as Mahmud Marvi, head of a parliamentary delegation of the Islamic Republic which returned home from Belgrade today, said.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahmud Marvi-Samavarchi, chairman of the Majlis Foreign Affairs Committee, described the talks held with Yugoslav officials as "very positive."

In a statement at Tehran airport, Mahmud Marvi-Samavarchi said that "attempts" were being made to upset relations between the Islamic Republic and Yugoslavia.

Expressing satisfaction with the three-day visit to Yugoslavia, Mahmud Marvi underscored that great possibilities existed for furthering Iranian-Yugoslav relations.

Iraqi Trade Minister Arrives in Belgrade

JN291209 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1030 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Feb (INA)—Muhammad Mahdi Salih, trade minister and head of the Iraqi side to the Iraqi-SFRY joint committee for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, arrived here today on a 3-day visit. The Iraqi minister will hold talks with the Yugoslav officials within the framework of the joint committee to develop cooperation between the two friendly countries.

LCY Central Committee To Hold Meeting

Zagreb Previews Session

LD282218 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 88

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] An LCY Central Committee session will be held in Belgrade tomorrow. Because of the unusually long agenda, the session will last 2 days. The main topics are the preparations for the LCY conference that will be held in April and the methods and content of the Central Committee's work. Here is a commentary by Sonja Badel:

[Badel] Tomorrow's LCY Central Committee session is one of those from which something special is expected For a long time now in fact individual members of the Central Committee have been proposing that a critical debate be opened on the work of the highest party organ and its Presidium, believing that they too bear a good part of the responsibility for the failure to implement the decisions of the 13th congress, that is for the continuation of the crisis in society. For the same reason, the Central Committee decided to convene the LCY conference, which is a form of LC activity between two congresses envisioned in the statute. In the preparations for the conference, there is a desire to mobilize the LC membership to take a more active attitude toward social problems, so that conference delegates may come up with proposals for finding a way out of the crisis.

The idea to convene the conference has not, it is true, met with general approval. There is, in fact, a fairly widely held view among the public about the convening of an extraordinary congress which, in contrast to a conference, adopts decisions—and apart from this many general party debates up to now have failed to produce the desired results—so it is normal that certain reservations exist about the new party debate that will result once the Central Committee tomorrow approves the draft documents for the conference. It can be said that they are not particularly inspiring, are burdened by verbosity, and repeat the stances of the 13th congress. However, Central Committee members have an opportunity tomorrow to improve to some extent the documents themselves, while the greatest contribution to the preparations for the conference can certainly be made by a fundamental and critical debate about the methods and content of the work of the Central Committee and the Presidium.

The mere postponement of this debate as well as the very decision to convene the conference could, moreover, be interpreted as the powerlessness of the Central Committee to solve on its own the problems that have accumulated in the LC and free the party leadership from the dangerous impasse into which it has fallen. To a large extent, therefore, the course of preparations and the success of the conference itself depend on tomorrow's

Central Committee session. Different behavior and a more responsible attitude toward the decisions of the party congresses can be requested of LC members, organizations, and organs if LCY Central Committee members examine in a responsible way their own work, critically assess the situation in all sections of the LC, and if they demonstrate that they are capable of staking out the main paths for finding a way out of the social crisis.

Session Opens 29 Feb

LD291137 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 29 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Feb (TANJUG)—The 13th session of the LCY Central Committee began in the Grand Hall of the SFRY Assembly this morning. The first item on the agenda is to lay down the theses for the LCY Conference. Members of this highest party forum will discuss the method and substance of the work of the Central Committee, and of its organs and bodies; the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo; and the current issues of the class and social composition of the League of Communists.

Second Day of Discussion Begins

LD011136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, Mar (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee session continued this morning in Belgrade. On the second day of work, members of this higher party forum will consider the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee Session on Kosovo. The introductory report will be submitted by Vukasin Loncar, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The LCY Central Committee members should, it is expected, approve the propositions for the preparation of the LCY conference and conclusions on the place, role, method, and content of the work of the LCY Central Committee, its organs and bodies, about which a whole day of exhaustive discussions was held yesterday.

Kosovo Polje on Serb, Montenegrin Emigration

AU011238 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 88

[Text] What we need are actions and changes that will bring about a stop to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and a return of those that have emigrated, as promised by the Yugoslav program. This is what Kosovo Polje Serbs and Montenegrins demand, for they believe that in this way conditions will be created for life without fear and for ensuring freedom as befits European civilization. A demand in these terms was heard at the very beginning of a gathering of Communists of Kosovo Polje, which is still under way. In addition to 600 Communists of the two local communities, the gathering is attended by Borisav Jovic, Zika Radojlovic, and Milomir Minic, representatives of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. Also present are a working group of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, Vojislav Zajic, secretary of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee, and a group of Pristina leaders.

In his opening speech, Zivojin Martinovic stressed that the political situation in Kosovo Polje is extremely unfavorable, that it reflects the overall unstable political situation in Kosovo. He pointed out the disagreements and the gap existing between the Pristina leaders and the people of Kosovo Polje. The idea of inventing some kind of a Kosovo Polje syndrome and of assessing that Kosovo Polje is a destabilizing factor can occur only in the minds of those who do not care about unified Yugoslavia, Zivojin Martinovic said. He said that the protest gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins have not been nationalistic, and that they always arose spontaneously as a consequence of specific actions by Albanian separatists.

Both the opening speaker and many of those taking part in the discussion pointed out the slow ideological differentiation and stressed that those Serbs and Montenegrins who fail to support their interests for careerist and other motivations should not be pushed forward in the cadre field.

At the Kosovo Polje gathering, particular resentment was voiced against some people on the Pristina LC Committee. A proposal of actions and measures by the presidium of the action conference of the LC of the 16th and the 17th local communities on solving problems in this part of the town was then read at the gathering.

Several suggestions about this problem were made in the discussion, and Stevan Marinkovic proposed that Kosovo Polje should be represented by its delegate at the forthcoming LCY Conference. Tomislav Sekulic said that forums in Pristina and in Kosovo put excessive stress on the danger from Serbia and Montenegrin nationalism, and he asked for an objective assessment. Ljubo Vujovic remarked that the party forums in Kosovo have been speaking shyly about Albanian nationalism and separatism recently. He and a majority of other speakers in the discussion said that some leaders of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pristina were not up to the requirements of the political moment.

I wish to assure you that we will consistently persist to the end, until all the consequences of the counterrevolution are liquidated and until the stances and tasks of the party plenums on Kosovo are fully implemented, Borisav Jovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, said. The eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and the actions following it have confirmed our firm view that we should implement what we have decided upon.

Borisav Jovic then said that we have the right and the obligation to speak publicly, clearly, and frankly about the undoubted results that are only a beginning, but are of great importance. Referring to the attempt to politicize the presence of the detachment of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kosovo, Borisav Jovic pointed out some attempts to disparage the significance of these actions and to question it. The presence of this detachment in Kosovo is justified and it contributes significantly to the security of the citizens, although this is only one of the elements in the wide actions that we conduct against the counterrevolution, Borisav Jovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, said.

Further in the discussion, several of the speakers at the Kosovo Polje Communists' gathering named several Kosovo and Pristina leaders—Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, Ekrem Arifi, and Ragip Halili—for some of their moves and statements. Ragip Halili, president of the Communal LC Committee, rejected some of the criticism, but accepted the criticism that he said was supported by arguments. He said he was prepared to be called to account for it if his responsibility is established.

The proposal that Bahrije Abrasi and Nada Pekovic be recalled from their positions as presidents of the Conferences for Social Activities of Kosovo and Pristina, respectively, was greeted with applause because their behavior irritated, as it was said in Kosovo Polje, the women gathering in Kosovo Polje last fall protesting the well-known Fadilj Hodza's statement.

Several speakers in the discussion also said that fear reigns among ethnic Albanians, that they, too, are exposed to the pressure of nationalists, and that many of them would speak out if they were certain of the outcome of the struggle against separatists.

We said at the beginning of this report that the Kosovo Polje Communists gathering still continues.

Kosovo Press Comments on Vlasi Criticism

AU010830 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Feb 88 p 7

[V. Surroi article: "The LCY Platform Recognizes No Borders"]

[Text] Which is more important, the form of a statement transmitted from a speaker to a hearer, or its content? It would be easier to give an answer to that old riddle of the chicken and the egg, and since this dilemma leads nowhere, then the effects of various influences from each side must be studied. So, both the form and the content of a statement are important.

If we apply this principle to analyzing the harsh reaction to the recent reply of Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, to a question asked at the Marxist Tribune in Split, it will be noticed that the form first influenced the content, and did so only subsequently in the opposite direction. Azem Vlasi replied to a specific question, concerning how Kosovo public opinion has responded to various phenomena in Macedonian public life relating to the position of the Albanian nationality in this area, by stating that the reports provided by the press in connection with these phenomena have not been viewed favorably. A torrent of reactions from various individuals and bodies in the SR of Macedonia followed, breaking off the discussion. Instead of the public question "Why were they not viewed favorably?" that it would have been pertinent to ask since Azem Vlasi gave no further details in his reply in Split, there came a wave of personal abuse based on emotion, without a shred of rational argument. He was labeled a "paternalist" (a word that arouses connotations of being a national leader), and his words were described as a "severe blow to intranational relations in Macedonia," and "an encouragement to Albanian nationalism and irredentism."

The abusive form of these statements, with their different varieties of defamation and their judgments, which are not in accordance with a range of assessments of the political work of a person in a specific environment, and which would be better suited to a campaign than a discussion, objectively leaves no room for any kind of content, apart from an attack upon an individual, comparisons of his reply in Split to MLADINA, and connotations of "encouraging Albanian nationalism and irredentism."

The problem discussed by Azem Vlasi in Split, and later elaborated on at Obilic, objectively exists. One must realize that, despite all the shortcomings of the Yugoslav media, information still circulates, and some of the reports arriving from the SR of Macedonia have not made a very good political impression in Kosovo. This, of course, means that if the problems mentioned by a paper anywhere in the country really exist, then the LCY and its organs are responsible for them, and in this case it is primarily the responsibility of the Macedonian LC to solve these problems. In such an organization as the LCY, constituted as a single whole by its statute, each part has its responsibility for the area where it works, but there is also responsibility for the whole. In this instance, if the problems of one part encumber the political activity of another, that is, that of the Kosovo LC, then it is impossible to draw a firm line along the republican-provincial border or fail to permit frank communist discussion of these problems. Still less can this be done with abuse describing every contrary view as "paternalist."

In conclusion, in subtle issues, in which it is clear that there is responsibility of every part of the LCY for the area where it works, but also a responsibility for the whole, the LCY platform of Kosovo stressed emphatically that the Kosovo crisis is not merely a problem for the Kosovo LC and the Serbian LC, but a problem for all the Communists of the country. This principle was also

applied at the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo, which reaffirmed, among other things, that the best contribution to the struggle against Albanian nation is to struggle against one's own nationalism.

And finally, in all this galaxy of problems at a national level, it can in no way be considered reasonable that a discussion of real problems between the organs of public opinion in one area and those in another should assume an abusive tone. This would not only fail to solve the problems that must be discussed with reason and sound arguments, but would create a fresh layer of cloud, creating a fresh problem in itself.

Montenegro LC Presidium Discusses Nationalism

LD271442 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The Montenegro LC and other progressive forces must wage an energetic and specific struggle against Montenegrin, Greater Serbian and other forms of nationalism, which have become increasingly aggressive recently, as well as waging action to over the social crisis, which is one of the basic reasons for the growth of nationalistic phenomena. This was said at today's expanded session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium that in a discussion lasting several hours considered certain phenomena in connection with the treatment of the Montenegrin national question in the light of the LC stances.

Contesting the unscientific approach to the origins of the Montenegrin nation by Sava Brkovic's book, "Ethnogenesis-phobia," and that of the writer of its introduction, Sreten Zekovic, Dr Risto Kilibarda in his introductory remarks stressed that among the opponents of the Montenegrin nation one could not class those who state that the Montenegrin nation is a branch of the Serbian ethnic tree, not even if they say that objective sociohistorical conditions have produced within the Montenegrin ethnic identity a Serbian consciousness. In Kilibarda's words, the opponents of the Montenegrin nation are those who from these two factors draw the conclusion that the Montenegrin nation does not exist, nor could it ever have existed.

By their "proving" that the Montenegrin nation exists, ethnogeneticists are creating the illusion that the Montenegrin national question is still open, that it is unresolved, that is, they are concealing the argument that is the most convincing proof of the existence of the Montenegrin nation, and that is life itself, which has effectively dispelled this question, Kilibarda said. [passage omitted]

As far as the Montenegrin nation is concerned, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed, no facts about the ethnic origins of the Montenegrins, whether they negate their ethnic affinity with the Serbs or whether they confirm that affinity, can either decrease or increase the reality of their existence. For this reason it is pointless and politically very damaging that the discussion on the ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins is becoming politicized in an increasingly intrusive way. This politicization only contributes to the clouding of the essence of intranational relations in Yugoslavia and weakens the unity of our society and our community. [Transmission interrupted, TANJUG part four not received]

It should be stressed in particular, Zarkovic continued, that even if an ethnic affinity does exist between the Serbs and the Montenegrins, it does not and cannot in any respect, in the conditions of our system, in the new socialist Yugoslavia, threaten the national freedom and national uniqueness of the Montenegrins. On the other hand it is unacceptable in the extreme to identify Greater Serbian aspirations of individuals and groups, which in today's conditions of the growth of nationalism in all environments are becoming more pronounced with the Serbian nation, Serbian Communists, workers, and working people. With their help, we have achieved victory in our common national liberation struggle and revolution, have solved the Montenegrin national issue and the national issue of all our other nations and nationalities, and today are making firm our community and ensuring this economic, cultural, and all-around development. The future of the Montenegrin nation could be threatened, primarily by nationalism on its own territory. It could be threatened by all forms of provincial isolation and economic and social lagging behind because of a delay in the development of self-management, the insufficient use of available capacity, of working time, of cadres and other comparative priorities for more rapid development in a united Yugoslav economic sphere. For this reason these issues should be the focus of our attention, and not the issues that run through the discussion on the ethnogenesis of the Montenegrins. [passage omitted]

Veselin Djuranovic cited as the basic causes of the escalation of nationalism in Yugoslavia the general political and ideological situation and the climate in the country, and the fact that the democratization of society is not primarily based on the development of socialist self-management, as well as the insufficiently critical class-oriented and combative attitude of the LCY as the leading ideopolitical force with regard to nationalism and its dangers. [passage omitted]

Serbia Liberalizes Law on Private Enterprise

LD011008 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0136 GMT 1 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—The latest changes in legislation in Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, will allow citizens a greater amount of private business initiative. The procedure for opening private workshops has been simplified and the fields of activity in which private persons can engage have been broadened.

Under the new law, municipal administration is obliged to issue a permit for the opening of a workship within three days of the submission of the application and necessary documents, the number of which has now also been reduced. If the documents are obtained through official channels, the municipality concerned must secure them within 15 days at the latest. After the period has expired, the private person can open the workshop—as if the permit was issued.

A major change is the provision allowing also persons without diplomas in core-specialized secondary education to open workshops, as well as the one allowing members of the owner's family to continue working in the shop if he is unable to do so.

The law now permits private persons to engage in advertising, economic, organizational, technological, research and development, and bookkeeping activities, as well as to provide data processing and computer programing services. It also allows private persons to make for socially-owned enterprises [word indistinct] items from their production programs.

Under the new regulations, private persons are able to engage in city and inter-city public transportation and carriage of goods. This will force social transporters to better organize and work more efficiently. The new law permits private workshops to employ ten workers and double the number when the volume of work is high (in peak season).

From now on, farmers will be able to freely sell their products through middlemen and without wasting their time in market places. For their part, the middlemen will be offering goods to buyers as retailers, at current prices.

The law, enacted in accordance with the Federal Government's decision on a reduction of the huge administrative personnel and to give more room to private initiative in the economy, comes into effect in a few days' time. The municipalities have been given a period of six months to bring their regulations into line with the new republican law.

Belgrade Court Bans KATEDRA Supplement

LD261803 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The council of the court presided over by Judge Ilija Simic of the district court in Belgrade today decided to ban the distribution of the supplement entitled BEOGRADSKI Prilog Issue No. 6 of February this year of the paper KATEDRA, which is published in Maribor by the University Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. The reason for this ban is that untruthful information is presented on the four pages of the supplement that might cause concern to the public. Copies of this supplement are being confiscated and will be destroyed, while the remainder of issue No 6 of Katedra will be returned to the publisher.

In Belgrade 586 copies of KATEDRA have been seized, while 164 copies have been sold. In the words of the public prosecution, the paper through its content and by means of pictures writes insultingly about the situation in the SR of Serbia and the leaders of this republic.

IGOR Mekina chief and responsible editor of KATEDRA, stated that the aim of this writing was to point out negative phenomena in society and that there was no intention to disturb the public. A representative for the defense put forward the opinion that today nothing was in the way of proof as to the untruthfulness of the articles in the Maribor paper, adding that such writing has not caused concern to the Slovene public.

The council of the court did not accept the defense's viewpoint.

Slovene Writers Send Letter to Presidency

AU262035 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] In connection with the SFRY Presidency statement on the more and more frequent gross attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and all-people's defense, the Writers Association of Slovenia—the republic from which such attacks most frequently emanate—has sent a letter to the highest Yugoslav state organ. Association spokesman presented the letter to Ljubljana correspondents of Yugoslav newspapers and radio and television stations.

The letter particularly resents the tone that, Slovene writers consider, contrasts with our increasingly democratic atmosphere. The authors of the letter assess that the State Presidency thus suggested to juridical organs that they should hand down sentences for the articles in MLADINA and TELEKS that have caused—as reports coming from all parts of the country show—indignation and condemnation from sociopolitical organizations, veterans, official organs, various institutions everywhere, and public opinion in general. The writers nevertheless assess the Presidency statement as pressure on juridical organs and the independence of the courts.

Belgrade SAWP Denounces Attacks on Army

AU261746 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Text] Working people and citizens of Belgrade consider the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and the concept of all-people's defense as overt and gross assaults on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, and they justly expect that all these occurrences will be unmasked in the communities where the press has been misused, and the activities of the protagonists of

these occurrences will be prevented. Among other things, this was noted at a session of the Presidium of the City Conference of the SAWP of Belgrade. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

Through brutal attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army and its most responsible leaders, some information media offer a system without self-managing socialism and without the LC. Citizens of Belgrade, which proudly bears the decoration of a hero city, rank these attacks with hostile and counterrevolutionary activities. This was the unanimous assessment of all those who spoke in the discussion.

Dana Milosavljevic, veteran of 1941, believed that the intention was obvious. It is a matter of a special war and other well-known methods.

[Begin Milosavljevic recording] Various roads, various aims are offered on behalf of democracy. I think that we should not be taken in by them. We must develop the most democratic relations possible, but we cannot accept those who aim to dismantle Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Why should this not be said: Nationalists are against a strong and unified Yugoslav People's Army, Veljko Miladinovic said. The Army should not defend itself, but should defend those because of whom it exists, Zlatan Perucic stressed. When arguments are lacking for criticizing something, some people will use anything and everything. It is the opinion of Sergej Sestakov that the majority of the Slovenes do not think in the way that some media of the republic write. It would not be good if the entire business were ended by the prosecutor or the courts. Others should also become involved.

Dragan Tomic, president of the SAWP City Conference, said in his concluding speech: No community is beyond discussion or criticism if there is reason for it, but it is obvious that the Yugoslav People's Army was put on the carpet without any reason whatever.

[Begin Tomic recording] We have reached a situation in which the Yugoslav People's Army must be defended. But why? This is something that we, either as the SAWP or in particular as citizens of Belgrade, cannot accept. I must add here that our Yugoslav People's Army is very open. But, if you please, what do these comrades want? They want the Army to disclose its secrets, they want it to make public something that cannot be made public anywhere in the world. [end recording]

At its session today, the Presidium also discussed an integration of the library network in Belgrade and the program of our capital's cooperation with the province of Kosovo.

SAWPY Official Assesses Role of Communists

AU261220 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 88 p 13

[Report on interview with Nenad Bucin, member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference, by Nenad Stefanovic and Jovan Kesar originally carried in VECERNJE NOVOSTI: "Power According to the Will of the People"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Stefanovic, Kesar] Could a person who is not a party member be expected one day to head one of our delegates assemblies, whether this is a communal, provincial, republican, or the federal assembly?

[Bucin] Why not? I do not see anything wrong with this. On the contrary, I see many positive things in it. But, considering our circumstances and the fact that almost all the delegates are party members, objectively speaking, this is not very likely. The acceptance of a greater number of nonparty people in our delegate assemblies, and entrusting them with the most responsible duties in society, would enhance the trust of our citizens in the system's institutions....

Answering the question as to whether the Communists alone could represent all parts of our society, Bucin said:

They can neither have a comprehensive mandate, nor can they represent all of society. After all, reality has shown that in some parts of the country they do not even have the mandate of the workers class of which they are vanguard. But even if the Communists were offered a comprehensive mandate, in my deepest conviction, they should not accept it. Excluding others from the game is not a question of political taste, but a question of a political strategy.

Today, Bucin said, I do not see any reason for the Communists to have absolute cadre domination in the assemblies. Had the party, or more precisely, its leaders, not turned their backs on their class basis to such an extent, and had they not coalesced with the state so much, there would, in my opinion, be no justification for only party members occupying posts in the assemblies. By this practice, the party is not doing itself or society a favor. This is the reason why our assemblies are pushed on the sidelines, why they are of secondary importance, why they are passive....

Removing important parts of society from the assemblies has negative consequences, Bucin added. In this crisis situation, when solutions can only be found through the power and sense of all citizens, party separatism in cadre policy appears to me extremely irrational. Almost all the responsibility for overcoming the crisis is being imputed to the Communists. But, objectively speaking, they are not able to do it. The burden should be borne by everybody in the country.

The cadre policy, Bucin stressed, is today the most alienated and most usurped form of social policy in general. The policy is accessible only to a narrow circle of people who tailor it according to their tastes. The demoratization of cadre policy is the be all and end all for our progress. A cadre sieve cannot be in the hands of a group of powerful people. The people must be enabled to vote for the best candidates of their own will.

Answering the question whether he was in favor of direct elections, Bucin readily answered: "Yes I am. There should be direct elections wherever possible. I am convinced that in this way we will improve the quality of our assemblies and introduce many creative forces to them. We must understand once and for all that the pluralism of thought and self-managing interests should be present in the assemblies. I am in favour of an honest competition of qualities."

Only in this way, Bucin stressed, will we rid ourselves of the political nonchalance that exists in our country. What has been already stated in other places will not be repeated in the assemblies. The assemblies will cease to be a classic example of the spread of verbalism. By reflecting the structure of society more realistically, they will interpret citizens' interests better. Let people from the small businesses sector talk about small businesses rather than those who live on the state budget.

Bucin pointed out that the problem does not only lie in the question of representation or lack of representation. The methods and ways our system's institutions work are also a problem. They are all competing to emulate the party.

We in the SAWP are too, Bucin said. This is bad, it puts people off, it pushes everybody out of their furrows. If I am not in my furrow, and you are not in yours, the field will never be properly plowed.

[The following two passages appear boxed within the body of the item] Disputable in Everything [subhead]

Illustrating the power of the party cadre monopoly, Bucin said:

Our practice is that when somebody is expelled from the LC he has to leave his position in society. Are all those who violate party discipline necessarily unsuitable to perform their job? We apply some kind of automatism regardless of whether one has violated self-management or whether one has done his job properly. There is another strange thing: The people punished by the party leave their posts in assemblies, trade unions, and the SAWP without almost any discussion. The reason is very simple. Everybody in these organizations is also a Communist. Party discipline binds one tenth of our society and not nine tenths. If I were premier, for instance, mandate would not come from the party, and, if a member of my government were disciplined by the party, this would not necessarily mean that he could not carry on with this duties.

Big game [subhead]

Answering the question about how many people in our country hold power in their hands, Bucin said:

This is difficult to express in numbers, difficult to assess. We are talking about illegal centers of power that are not accountable to anybody. They are a completely protected species, like big game. Their social promotion, as well as liquidation, is always conducted in an exclusive, narrow circle. What the strength of these power centers is was best illustrated by some recent events. Society is paying dear for their arrogance, illusions, mistakes, and sins. As regards destroying these centers, allow me to recall, of course, not word for word, a verse from a folk song that calls on "each of us to kill our Turkish rulers." This autocracy must be stopped because it most seriously compromises and undermines citizens' faith in the system.

Serbian SAWP Meeting Views Role of Defense

LD262101 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 26 Feb 88

[Summary] At a session today in Belgrade the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium discussed agriculture and spring sowing, among other things.

The session also considered and accepted information on the implementation of last year's actions "nothing must surprise us" and "everyone for defense and protection." It was concluded that these activities on Serbian territory made an important contribution to furthering the functioning of all-people's defense and social self-protection and that a large number of working people and citizens had participated in them. Nevertheless, said Smajo Ljuca [not further identified], the results of these actions varied among municipalities, work organizations, and local communities. In some environments, they were even poorer than in previous years, since many occurrences and phenomena nevertheless surprised them.

Recently, stressed Ljuca, worrying, organized, and planned attacks have manifested themselves in the achievements of the revolution, particularly in brotherhood and unity, all-people's defense, social self-protection, and the Yugoslav People's Army. Also worrying are the fires in which 45 people lost their lives last year; 168 pepole were seriously injured and some 10 billion dinars of damage was caused: The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, negative trends in economic and social life, and attacks on social property are

a sufficient indication that the effectiveness of the activities of all-people's defense and social self-protection, despite the results achieved, must be increased further, said Ljuca.

In the discussion it was stressed that citizens must be trained specifically and in large numbers. Concluding the discussion, Bogdan Trifunovic [president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference] stressed that it is essential to remove self-satisfaction with what has been achieved. In addition to better organization, it is important to more sharply define responsibility for carrying out such actions.

Candidates Announced for Slovene Posts

AU221702 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Seven Candidates for President"]

[Text] At today's session, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP confirmed the list of candidates for president and member of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia and for the highest posts in the Republican Assembly and the assemblies of the self-managing interest communities, which is to be discussed in the next few days by the SAWP basic candidates' conferences.

Seven candidates have been put forward for president of the Presidency: Marko Bulc, Tomaz Ertl, Dr. Ivo Fabinc, Andrej Marinc, Janez Stanovnik, Ciril Zlobec, and Mojca Drcar-Murko, and for Presidency member, eight candidates: Andrej Jemc, Dr. Matjaz Kmecl, Peter Novak, Milica Ozbic, Dr. Ernest Petric, Emil Milan Pintar, Dr. Janko Pleterski, Dusan Plut, and Milan Turk.

The candidates put forward for the highest posts in the Republican Assembly are all those officials who have the right to another 2-year term in office: Miran Potrc for president, Joze Knez and Marija Zupancic-Vicar for vice presidents, Valentin Dvojmic for president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, Vlado Beznik for president of the Chamber of Municipalities, and Valerija Skrebec for president of the Sociopolitical Chamber. Aleksandar Ravnikar and Danica Zeleznikar are new candidates for the vice presidencies of the assembly and Tone Anderlic is a new candidate for the post of president of the Sociopolitical Chamber.